

TESTAMENT

OF

SUBHAS BOSE

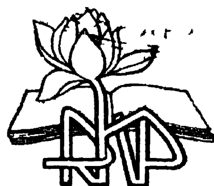
Being a complete and authentic record of Netaji's Broadcast speeches, Press statements, etc.

1942–1945

Compiled and Edited

by

'ARUN'



DELHI
RAJKAMAL PUBLICATIONS
1946

To

RANI

With fondest affection
and sincere gratitude

O Fame!—if I e'er took delight in thy praises,
'Twas less for the sake of thy high-sounding phrases,
Than to see the bright eyes of the dear one discover
She thought that I was not unworthy to love her.

—Lord Byron.

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PREFACE

I make no apologies for producing this book. The activities of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose have caused a great stir both in India and elsewhere in the world. The activities of the Provisional Government of Free India and the exploits of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, which were the creation of Netaji, have written a new chapter in the glorious annals of India's historic struggle for liberty. The colourful and vigorous personality of Netaji Bose has perhaps been removed for all time from our midst, but his spirit dwells in the heart of every Indian and will continue to burn as a pure flamer for centuries to come.

This book is a collection of all his important broadcast speeches and other statements made during his exile from home. It is the testament of faith of a great patriot and a valiant fighter who devoted his entire life for the freedom of his country. There has been, and there still is, a great deal of doubt in the minds of various people, even in India, regarding the real motives of Netaji. There are many who think that it was a purely selfish motive which drove him into the arms of Japan and Germany—the greatest enemies of freedom. There is no denving that there is considerable room for such mistaken belief. I have found that many people are led to this belief even against their will. This is because so little is known about Netaji's real motives It is, therefore, fair that his point of view be placed before the world so that it may be possible to judge the issue. This book seeks to do that in Netaji's own words. It is an authentic record of what Netaji himself said.

It is true that what Netaji did—particularly his collaboration with the Fascist Powers, especially Japan—was, to put it mildlv, unconventional. But, to allow that to prejudice our judgment would be grossly unfair to Netaji We Indians, at least a majority of us, know that Netaji was a great patriot who had only one aim in life—the liberation of India from British bondage—and he fought all his life for this noble cause. And, it was his intense patriotism which often led him to paths which a wiser man would perhaps have not taken. To Netaji the end was more important than the means. One must also take cognizance of another trait in his character which explains his conduct. He was all his life a man of independent spirit who did not hesitate to break away from tradition in order to do what he thought was right. This trait often landed him in many difficulties; but he never deviated from the path of duty as

he understood it. His quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command in 1939, which virtually resulted in his political liquidation, was an act of political blundering. He knew that to challenge the Mahatma's authority was playing with fire ; and yet, knowing this he did not hesitate to throw out a challenge to the undisputed master of the Congress because he thought he was right. His formation of the Forward Bloc was yet another example of what might be called his "fatal flaw." Despite all this, Subhas Bose was a patriot, whose only fault was that he loved his country "not wisely, but too well."

To achieve his country's freedom he was prepared to do anything. Nobody or nothing could ever stop him from going ahead to achieve that paramount objective in life. He was all his life a fighter ; and he fought till the very end. Opposition only whetted his appetite for struggle. Defeat only spurred him on to greater effort. The evidence of his remarkable work in Asia establishes his greatness as an organiser. The loyalty and self-sacrifice which he inspired among his followers bear testimony to his greatness as a leader among men.

I am neither an admirer of the Fascist Powers, nor do I believe that Japan was prompted by any altruistic motives in supporting Subhas Bose and helping him to form the Provisional Government of Free India and the *Azad Hind Fauj*. Anyone familiar with Japan's record and the declared objectives of the Militarist clique, which virtually ruled Japan, knows that Nippon's talk of her "liberating mission" in Asia was hollow and insincere. By the very nature of things it was unthinkable that Japan would have helped India to achieve her freedom and then handed the country over to the Indian people. Subhas Bose could not have been fooled by the pious professions of the Japanese war lords who were out for world domination and the establishment of a vast empire for the greater glory of Japan." He was a student of world affairs and was undoubtedly familiar with the ultimate objectives of the Axis Powers. Subhas Bose could not, therefore, have been hoodwinked by all the Fascist clap-trap about helping the oppressed nations of Asia to regain their freedom. Why then did he associate with these Powers who could not possibly have entertained any honest intentions about India ?

Subhas Bose has been branded by Europeans as a "Fascist stooge" and a "henchman" of the Axis Powers. He has also been called a "traitor" and a "quisling". In the course of an article in the Russian newspaper *Pravada*, on January 7, 1946, a Russian journalist, M. Zaslavsky, violently abused Subhas Bose and called him "the notorious would-be Quisling

of India", "this Facist rogue" and "this Indo-Fascist adventurer." The language is in keeping with the Russian idea of straight talking, and is, at least vivid if lacking in good taste. Others have also added their share of condemnation. Of course, this criticism and condemnation of Subhas Bose by Europeans is quite understandable. Those European Powers who fought against the Axis Powers cannot believe that anyone who has had anything to do with the Axis Powers, can ever be anything but an ignoble "stooge" or a disgraceful "Quisling". To them any association with Fascism is enough to taint a man's character and brand him an "enemy of freedom." It is curious that most of these Powers,—the erstwhile friends of Germany, Italy and Japan,—who 'payed court' to Hitler and the Japanese war lords and connived at the rape of Abyssinia, Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia and Manchuria, should be so critical of anyone associating with the Axis Powers. The War, however, suddenly brought about a complete change in their sense of moral values, and, of course, like all "good" Europeans they saw nothing remarkable in this sudden *volte face*. Not only that, the European Powers suddenly found that the moral issues involved had become different.

European critics of Subhas Bose seem to forget or ignore the peculiar situation in India. For one thing, India was never a willing party to the war. India was declared a belligerent by the Viceroy, who is in every sense of the word a "dictator," and against the declared will of the Indian people. It is also forgotten that India is a British possession and is as much the victim of aggression as any country which the Axis Powers overran and conquered and to "liberate" which these Powers were fighting. Consequently, to say that India and Indians owed any loyalty to the Allied cause is to ignore the facts of the situation. How ludicrous for these self-appointed defenders of democracy to have demanded absolute co-operation and loyalty from Indians in their crusade against the Axis Powers, when they (the Indians) themselves are victims of Imperialist domination; Loyalty to India demanded that Indians should work for the destruction of British Imperialism; and yet, they were asked to fight for the preservation of that very Imperialism which had kept her in bondage for centuries and was destroying her very soul. If, therefore, Subhas Bose refused to be a party to Britain's war into which India had been forcibly dragged, can anyone blame him? Is it justifiable to damn him as a "quisling" and a "traitor" when his only crime—if it can be called a crime—was that he refused to co-operate with the one and only enemy of India ? Netaji always placed India before everybody and everything; and, therefore, he refused to let moral scruples (if such scruples were really involved) stand in the way of India's freedom.

Another word to the European (in which I include the Americans) critics of Subhas Bose. It has been said that Subhas Bose joined the Axis band-wagon and agreed to play the Fascist show-boy because he wanted to foist himself upon India as a "dictator" tied to the apron-strings of his Japanese masters. In the first place there was no such desire on Netaji's part as I shall show later. In the second place, why is it that Netaji's collaboration is looked upon as a selfish barter of his country's freedom (not that there is any) for the doubtful glory of being the "puppet ruler of India"? Nor does his collaboration with the Fascist Powers imply his acceptance of their ideology. In fact he categorically stated that collaboration with Japan did not mean the acceptance of Japan's ideology. If mere association for war purposes means accepting the ally's ways and principles in life then Britain's association with Soviet Russia would also mean the acceptance of the Communist faith. This no one will seriously state.

History is full of examples where pacts have been signed by two nations professing entirely contradictory ideologies. Subhas Bose's temporary association with Japan was, therefore, neither unnatural, nor was it unusual. The Soviet-German Pact of August 23, 1939, is a typical example of "diplomatic partnership." The pact raised a terrible storm against Soviet Russia, and there was a great deal of talk about "Red Nazism" at the time. One well remembers how the signing of the Pact shook the faith of even the staunchest believer in Communism and the integrity of Soviet Russia. Later, when Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia, and in the course of a spectacular *blitzkreig* stood before the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, the former critics of the Pact called it a superb example of *Realpolitik.* It was said that by allying himself with Hitler and taking a part of Poland, Stalin had placed some "additional mileage between the new German border and Moscow," and thereby saved Russia. Another typical example of, what European politicians cleverly call *Realpolitik,* this sort of "diplomatic" alliance was that between Britain and Soviet Russia when Britain offered every help to Soviet Russia after the German attack on June 21, 1941. Mr. Churchill, in one of his most eloquent and equally dishonest speeches, said in the House of Commons :

> "No one has been more a consistent opponent of Communism than I have been for the last 25 years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle that is now unfolding....... *Any man or State who fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or*

> *State who marches with Hitler is our foe* ...... It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia, and to the Russian people (italics mine)."

If, therefore, it was right for Britain to ally herself with Soviet Russia just because it was *convenient* for her to do so, why should it be considered wrong for Subhas Bose to have done the same thing ? If the association did not imply the acceptance of Soviet ideology by Britain, why should Netaji's alliance with Japan brand him as a Fascist ? If it was *morally* right for Britain to collaborate with Soviet Russia because she was fighting *against Nazism*, why should it be considered immoral for Subhas Babu to have collaborated with Japan because she was fighting *against British Imperialism* ? The reason for this queer and entirely one-sided judgment is simple. The British and their associates, who were allegedly fighting for democracy, justice and all the nice things they have been talking about, arrogated to themselves the sole right to judge what was morally right or wrong. They seem to forget that the assiocition of Subhas Bose with the Axis Powers was that between an individual and the enemy of his enemy. To Subhas Bose, Japan and Germany were acceptable as allies simply because they had humiliated Britain and brought her to the brink of defeat. He knew that the Axis Powers were not helping the Indian nationalists out of an innate love for them. And, I am certain, that Mr. Churchill's Government did not volunteer to help Soviet Russia because of particular fondness for the "Reds". But as I have shown, the whole arrangement was based entirely on sheer self-interest. The hostility between Britain and Soviet Russia today proves this to the hilt. It will, therefore, be clear that Subhas Bose's alliance with Japan was, at worst, an unholy alliance. But, when the stakes were so high could one bother about such niceties ? Can anyone blame Subhas Babu for having ignored the ethics of the matter ? Besides what was Subhas Babu's real attitude towards Japan ? Did he approve all that she had done or was doing ? The answer is provided by the following statement made by him on the subject in the course of an article on September 19, 1937:—

> "Japan has done great things for herself and for Asia. Her reawakening at the dawn of the present century sent a thrill throughout our Continent. Japan has shattered the white man's prestige in the Far East and has put all the Western Imperialist Powers on the defensive—not only in the military but also in the economic spheres. She is extremely sensitive—and rightly so—about her self-respect as an Asiatic

race. She is determined to drive out the Western Powers from the Far East. But could not all this have been achieved without Imperialism, without dismembering the Chinese Republic, without humiliating another proud, cultured and ancient race? No, with all our admiration for Japan, where such admiration is due, our whole heart goes to China in her hour of trial. China must still live—for her own sake and for humanity. Out of the ashes of the conflict she will once again rise phoenix-like as she has so often done in the past."

That he did not change his views later will be clear from the speeches and statements contained in this book. But, this realisation of Japan's faults did not prevent him from joining hands with her simply because he felt strongly that by allying himself with Japan he would be able to help his country to achieve freedom.

Why did Subhas Bose leave India? The answer is provided by his character. Netaji was all his life an active fighter for freedom. The very idea of inactivity was irksom, to him. He could not, therefore, languish in prison while the world moved on. Speaking at Singapore on July 9, 1943e he said:

"Having been in prison eleven times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk it involved."

The very idea of sitting helplessly in a British prison *waiting* for the next opportunity was distasteful to him. He felt he had to *do* something. No one can deny that had he submitted meekly to his fate and spent his time in a British prison today he would have been free and alive. But, Netaji was made of a different fibre. So, he went away leaving the "security" of a British prison.

Another reason for his leaving India was that he felt strongly that Britain would lose the war, and he wanted to utilize the opportunity to India's advantage. In his speeches and statements he constantly harped on this point. In Britain's darkest hour he saw the sun of Indian freedom shining in the sky. He felt that it would be infinitely easier for India to destroy British Imperialism in India at a time when the mighty British Empire was plumbing the very depths of defeat.

The third reason for his leaving home was that he felt that the Indian Independence Movement could only succeed

if additional help could be obtained. In his speech of July 9, 1943, he declared:

> "....my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home."

Time and again he exhorted Indians in Europe and East Asia to come to the aid of their countrymen in the titanic struggle which was going on inside India. He realised how rightly we know now that it was infinitely easier for Indians outside India to help the nationalist cause than Indians at home. So, he went out to these millions of Indians in Asia and Europe to ask for much-needed help. How well he succeeded in mobilising these resources is borne out by the evidence gradually unfolding itself.

The fourth, and perhaps the most important, reason for his flight to Europe and Asia was that he was convinced of the utter futility of non-violence as a weapon against British Imperialism. It is well known that Subhas Bose was always in favour of an armed revolution. On July 9, 1943, he said:

> "Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India."

How well he succeeded in realising this objective is a part of history. The *Azad Hind Fauj* is a striking movement to his organising genius, and represents the high-water mark of India's struggle for freedom. The returning heroes of Netaji's *Azad Hind Fauj* show how well Netaji succeeded in his efforts. I do not wish to start a controversy about the statesmanship of Netaji, but I can assert that his efforts have done a great deal to bring about a complete change in the attitude of Britain towards India. In this belief I am supported by that great patriot—Shri Jai Parkash Narain.

Now I come to another "charge" which is frequently levelled against Netaji. It is said that he wanted to be the 'dictator' of India. Frankly, I personally don't see any harm in that, because I feel strongly that we definitely need a dictator. But, that is quite unimportant. Let us see what Subhas Babu had to say on this point. Broadcasting to India from Berlin on March 1, 1942, he declared:-

> "All my life I have been a servant of India, and in the last years of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been and will be to India and to India alone."

Again in the course of a speech broadcast from Germany on March 1, 1943, he said :—

> "... Whatever I have done since leaving home or whatever I may do in future, has been and will be done

with the sole purpose of bringing about the speedy emancipation of my country...."

First and always a true patriot, the one burning passion of his life was to liberate his Motherland from the shackles of British slavery. So intense was his love for his country that he completely broke down while taking the oath after assuming charge as Head of State of the Provisional Government of Free India on October 21, 1943. The oath reads as follows:

"In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the thirty-eight crores of my countrymen, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life.

"I shall always remain a servant of India and look after the welfare of thirty-eight crores of Indian brothers and sisters. This shall be for me my highest duty.

"Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom."

From the various statements made by Netaji it will be clear that the Azad Hind Government was a purely interim Government and it would have handed over charge to a duly elected Indian Government. I do not wish to labour the point here because it will be fully established on reading Netaji's speeches and statements contained in this book.

Netaji fought his last battle and lost. But, his efforts have not been entirely wasted. The spirit which he evoked among those who had the privilege of working with him is animating millions of Indians today. The exploits of the *Azad Hind Fauj* will always be a glorious chapter in Indian history, and the name of Netaji Bose will continue to inspire countless generations of our countrymen and spur them on to noble activity. My sole purpose in producing this book is to enable Indians and others to understand the real motives of Netaji. If I succeed in doing that I shall be amply repaid. Subhas Bose might well have said :

"This is my faith, this is where I stand, and if necessary, this is where I die."

Before I conclude I should like to express my sincere gratitude to various people who have helped me in many ways in my task. First I should like to say "thank you very much" to one to whom this book has been dedicated. But, for her constant enouragement this book would never have seen the light of day despite my best intentions. If therefore, my humble effort proves useful, the chief credit should go to her. Next, I should like to express my gratitude

to Messrs. Rajkamal Publications for undertaking the publication of this book. I am very grateful to some members of the I. N. A. who have given me the material contained in this book. I am deeply grateful to two other friends who typed the manuscript under difficult conditions. Another very dear friend who gave me valuable help will remain anonymous. I shall always be grateful to him for putting up with my ill-temper occasioned, I can assure him, by the stress of work.

One more word and I have done. The authorship of the book has been kept anonymous not due to any cowardice but solely for personal reasons. One day, when those reasons are no longer valid, I shall disclose my identity.

'Solitary Nook' "ARUN".

DELHI
May 1, 1946.

1. A NEW AGE IS DAWNING

[*Speech broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO—a North German Station on March 11, 1942*]

" Sisters and brothers! For some time I have watched the changes in the world calmly and quietly. The fall of Singapore is a prelude to the fall of the British Empire. A new era is setting in. By enslaving us, the British have entirely ruined our morality and our finances. We bow our heads before God, who has granted us such an auspicious occasion for freeing India. In this age there is no greater enemy of freedom and progress than Britain. Now is the time to wake up from your slumber. The end of British domination will mean the end of a tyrannous regime, and the beginning of a new life in the history of India. The British have heaped indignities and humiliations upon us. Again we thank God for giving us this auspicious opportunity. Today many nations of the world are the enemies of Britain. The friends of Britain are our enemies.

" The Indian National Congress claims to guide the nation. But its half-hearted measures have encouraged British leaders to continue to follow the old and hackneyed course, namely, of making promises without meaning to fulfil them. I also know that there are such people in India who are anxious to preserve the British Empire. The majority of Indians do not want either British rule or their economic system. We will not cease fighting until Mother India is free.

" In the world is dawning a new age. A true patriot says that his own fate must be decided by himself. **We are ready to co-operate with any nation that will help us in regaining our independence.** I hope that all my Indian brothers and sisters will help me in this war against the British. Even with her cunning, and underhand policy, Britain cannot fool India, neither can she stop Indians from cherishing their ideal of nationalism. **India has decided to fight for her freedom.** She will not only free herself, but will free Asia and even the whole world."

2. THE AXIS POWERS ARE OUR FRIENDS

[*Broadcast from Berlin on March 13, 1942*]

Friends! The fall of Singapore has been hastily followed by the collapse of other military bases of Britain's imperialistic Allies in East Asia. The Japanese capture of Rangoon has revived the hopes of freedom of the Burmese. They

will again breathe a free atmosphere, just as they did when they were a free nation. The prophecy, which the German Foreign Minister made on November 26, 1939, is proving true. How prophetic were his words when he said that Britain would lose her military bases one by one. The British Empire stands threatened in every quarter. The flame of British glory is flickering. Their days are numbered.

"As usual, the British have been, since the outbreak of the present hostilities, striving desperately to cajole other people into shedding their blood and supplying armaments to the British for the successful prosecution of the war. But their efforts have failed. They are facing disaster and disgrace on all fronts. The Indians have been, since September 1939, entreating the British Government to apply the principles of freedom and democracy to India, and thus give practical proof of their honesty and goodwill towards them. Some Indian nationalists even went to the extent of announcing that, should the British satisfy their national aspirations, they would be prepared to help them in this war. To this appeal British statesmen paid no heed. As a matter of fact, they never gave an unambiguous reply which would have earned the goodwill of Indians. With characteristic hypocrisy and fraud, they have again made an obscure declaration.

"Throughout their rule in India, the British have been seeking to create disunity among Indians. They have succeeded to some extent in this object, and on the plea of disunity among the various sections of the people, they have consistently refused to grant self-government to India. There is no end to British intrigues. Now they are uselessly making a lot of fuss over a possible enemy invasion of India. It has been frequently argued that India's frontiers lie on the Suez Canal and in Hong Kong. On this pretext, the British carried Indian troops to the Libyan desert and France and caused their bloodshed. In the East, the Indians were sacrificed in Hong Kong and Singapore in utter disregard of Indian wishes. Indian frontiers do not lie where Wavell has arbitrarily fixed them. This is only a mischievous invention of the British mind. India's geographical borders lie only where nature has created them. Britain, whether she is governed by Conservative or Labour leaders, like Churchill and Cripps, has been causing starvation in India. The Indians have been reduced to abject poverty. To ensure the safety of their Empire and to tighten the shackles of India's bondage, the British are demanding help and heavy sacrifices from her. They want the Indians to work like serfs and ceaselessly toil and fret for them.

"The Indians understand that they have no enemy outside hte Indian frontiers. The British have not changed their

traditionally vicious policy. Indian troops are being recalled, since it is being said that the war is threatening the very gates of India. Here the question arises as to who is responsible for involving India into the war? Had not India's entry into the war been arbitrarily decided, her wealth and raw materials been tapped, her geographical situation been exploited for using her as a military base, and unlike Eire, her freedom of action been usurped, she would have never been a party to the present war. Every deceptive weapon was employed against her in order to convert her into a military base and to exact the greatest possible help from the Indians.

"Friends! the proper moment for valuing British manoeuvres at their real worth and for learning the nature of their tricks has arrived. They are only anxious to spread war to India which has already been made a belligerent country. No one should be surprised to learn of these age-old' British tactics, in pursuance of which they have been continuously seeking to drag other nations into their war. Wherever the situation grew critical they deserted their Allies. In other words, they have been ruthlessly and systematically bringing ruin and disaster to mankind. Right from Dunkirk upto Batavia they have caused widespread destruction. Are not you Indians still convinced of British selfishness?

"My Indian brothers, it is not worth while to hope that the British will ever be able to help you in keeping hostilities beyond the frontiers of India. Rather, they will continually undertake to destroy India, and will not desist from resorting to the 'scorched-earth' policy in your country as well. The British Empire was founded on relentless plundering of weak nations. So long as it is their power they will persist in the exploitation of subject nations. If the Indians took it to their heart that their country should be safe from danger, their first duty would be to carry out a thorough destruction of British military objectives in India, and prevent India's raw material, wealth and youth from being harnessed by the British to their war effort.

"Friends, **it is crystal clear that in British decline alone lies the hope of India's independence.** Every Indian who works to strengthen British hands, betrays the cause of his motherland. Such a man is a traitor to India. Whoever opposes Indian patriots and sides with the British is no better than a Mir Jafar or an Umi Chand of the present generation.

"Brothers and sisters, everyone of you should understand that to come to terms with the British, who are about to perish, is a ridiculous commitment in the eyes of the world. Churchill

has recently announced the possibility of granting Dominion Status to India as soon as it is feasible. He has commanded Cripps to go out to Indias in order to bring together the various Indian political parties, and to find out what measure of power should be granted to the Indians under the present circumstances. No sane Indian can be pleased with this latest British offer. Today, no Indian is prepared to trust empty British promises of freedom after the war. Every Indian politician knows that the British always aim at the policy of 'Divide and Rule' in India. So long as their foot remains on Indian soil they will never abandon their vicious policies. Churchill and his Government will, before long, come to realize that Indians can no longer be hoodwinked by them. Brothers and sisters, I am witnessing, with my own eyes, the downfall of the British Empire. If Cripps or any other British statesman comes out to India, the Indians cannot evince any interest in him.

"**In the present world struggle one group of nations is trying to maintain the power it achieved as a sequel to the Versailles Treaty. The other group of nations is fighting with an iron will to eradicate the unhappy state of affairs looming large in the world and to establish a 'New Order'.** Brothers and sisters, you stand to lose only one thing from this war, and that is your shackles. Indians cannot be satisfied by the present rotten world order. They can be happy only in a new and a better scheme of things, which will rescue them from the jaws of destruction and serfdom. This war is bound to leave the British Empire in ruins and achieve that end.

"**The famous Tripartite pact has been concluded to put an end to tyrannical British imperialism. The parties to this act are our comrades. It is absolutely ridiculous to say that a combination of Axis Powers constitutes a menace to the freedom of India. The facts are quite different. I know these nations fully well, and I can assure you that they have great sympathy for the cause of our freedom.** If any one is doubtful on this point, he may be reminded of the recent statement of General Tojo, the Japanese Premier. Let me hope that my compatriots will no longer entertain any doubts about their goodwill towards us and yield to false Anglo-American propaganda. Indians should be delighted with the brilliant victories which the Japanese are scoring against their enemies. The day when Justice and equality will assert themselves is not far off. When that time comes then alone will Indians be able to prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of freedom and justice.

"Long live Revolution".

3. INDICTMENT OF BRITAIN

[*Speech broadcast over Berlin Radio on March 19, 1942*]

"Sisters and brothers! After the fall of the island-fortress of Singapore, the other bastions of British and Allied imperialism in the Far East have been rapidly surrendering. Rangoon has now fallen, and the Burmese people can once again breathe freely as they did in the days of old, when their land glittered with golden palaces and pagodas and their rich green fields smiled in prosperity. The words of Germany's Foreign Minister, uttered on November 26, 1941, have proved to be prophetic, and Britain is losing her positions one after another. Nothing is visible on the horizon that can possibly arrest the collapse and break-up of her vast Empire. Since the beginning of the present war, Britain, in accordance with her traditions, has sought to get other peoples and nations to fight her battles and also to provide the sinews of war. But these tactics have been unavailing, and Britain has, therefore, been beaten in every major conflict, whether in the west or in the east.

"From September 1939 onwards, the Indian people have continuously appealed to the British Government to demonstrate their *bona fides* by applying the principles of freedom and democracy to India. Some nationalists have even gone so far as to offer their full support to Britain's war in the event of India's national demand being fulfilled. The only reply from the British side has been a refusal, not plain and blunt, as we would have preferred, but perfidious and hypocritical. The British, who have endeavoured to create dissensions among the Indian people throughout the period of their rule in India, have put forward these artificially engineered dissensions as an excuse for denying self-determination to India. Not content with such hypocrisy, British propagandists tried to persuade the Indian people that their country stood in danger of enemy attack, and that the frontiers of India were, therefore, at Suez and Hong Kong. On this pretext, Indian troops were forcibly sent right up to Libya and France on the West, and to Singapore and Hong Kong on the East, against the declared will of the Indian people. But as a matter of fact India has no imaginary Wavellian frontiers, she has a national geographical boundary determined by Providence and nature. It is only the British Empire that has frontiers extending from north to south and from east to west, and it is this Empire, whether ruled by a Conservative or by a Labour Cabinet, that has deprived the Indian people of life and liberty as well as bread and arms. To save such an Empire, and incidentally to ensure their own slavery, the Indian people have been asked to give their blood, toil, tears and sweat in unmeasured quantity,

though in reality India has no enemy outside her own frontiers.

" For some time past there has been a change in Britain's tactics. Indian and other troops are being sent to India and the people are being told that the war is now coming to India. But who has been moving earth and heaven to bring India into the war zone ? If the British Government had not declared India a belligerent in September 1939, and had not tried by all means, fair and foul, to exploit the wealth, man-power, the raw materials and the industrial resources of India for feeding Britain's war machine; if the British Government had not converted India into a big military base, and if India had, on the contrary, been allowed to remain neutral, like Eire, there would have been no possibility of India coming within the area of the present war. But by the most cunning procedure, Britain has endeavoured to drag India into the war-zone with a view to ultimately securing India's voluntary co-operation in Britain's selfish war efforts. It is, therefore, high time that the Indian people saw through the dirty game which British politicians are now playing, namely, to bring the war into India, just as in September 1939 they were responsible for bringing India into the war.

"Such tactics, however, should not cause any surprise, because since 1939 the British have continually attempted to bring the war into other people's lands. From Norway to Crete and from Libya to Hong Kong, they have instigated and provoked other people to fight, and at the crucial hour they have themselves escaped, leaving others in the lurch as we have witnessed again and again from Dunkirk to Batavia. It is useless to expect the British to keep India out of the war-zone and out of the sufferings, misery and privation which modern war entails. In the course of military operations, they will not hesitate for one moment to apply the scorched-earth tactics to our own country. The Empire, which was born of robbery and greed and which thrives on injustice and oppression, will continue to exploit and terrorize so long as it survives. But if the Indian people want to keep their country out of the arena of war, they must themselves remove Britain's military base from India, and put an end to Britain's exploitation of India for imperialist war purposes.

"The victory of the British Empire will mean the perpetuation of our own slavery, and only through the complete overthrow of that Empire is India's emancipation possible. Consequently, any Indian who now works for Britain acts against the best interests of his country and is a traitor to the cause of liberty. Indian nationalists will have to fight not

only their imperialist rulers, but also the lackeys of British Imperialism, the Mir Jaffars and Umi Chands of today, and to everybody it should be clear as daylight that to think of compromise with an Empire that will soon disappear is not only futile but ridiculous.

"The British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, has in his recent utterance before Parliament promised Dominion Status to India as soon as possible after the war is over. Under his mandate, Sir Stafford Cripps is to visit India in order to bring about an agreement between the different sections of the people, and to decide what political concessions should be granted at present. Only one who lives in a fool's paradise could imagine that India still cares for Dominion Status within the Empire, and that a single Indian could be found who still has the least faith in British promises which are to be redeemed after the termination of the war. People in India know full well that the much-advertised and so-called dissensions are an artificial creation, and that as long as the British remain in India they will continue their nefarious policy of 'divide and rule'. Mr. Churchill and his Cabinet will soon realize that political promises thrown at the Indian people from Westminster will not bring them over to the British side. **The British Empire is going the way of all other Empires of the past, and out of its ashes will rise a free and united India.** The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps or of any other British politician at this late hour is, therefore, of no consequence to India, and will not arouse interest in that country.

"In the present Armageddon, therefore, is a desperate attempt on the one side to maintain the *status quo* that has sprung out of the Treaty of Versailles and similar treaties of the past, while on the other, there is the determination to destroy the old order and usher in a new one. In such a conflict, India has nothing to lose but her chains, and the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people can be fulfilled not through the maintenance, but only through the destruction of the old order—which signifies for them humiliation, slavery and death.

"Taking a bird's eye view of modern history, I feel convinced that as the last World War led to the dissolution of some old and decadent empires, so will this War culminate in the dismemberment of the British Empire, the last anachronism in modern politics. The Tripartite Powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—through whom this consummation will be brought about, are accordingly our natural friends and allies. It is the blackest lie to say that these Powers constitute a menace to India. From my intimate knowledge of these

three nations, I can assert on the contrary that they have nothing but sympathy and goodwill for India and for Indian independence. If ever there was any doubt on this point, the recent historic declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan, General Tojo, should reassure my countrymen once for all, and no Indian should in future allow himself to be duped by British propaganda. Let us, therefore, rejoice that under the simultaneous blows of the Tripartite Powers, the British Empire, our eternal foe, is fast crumbling. Let us rejoice over the rapid and victorious advance of the Japanese forces in the Far East. Let us rejoice that the old order which was set up at Versailles is crashing before our very eyes, and let us rejoice over the coming dawn, which will bring for India freedom and justice, happiness and prosperity.

"Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !"

4. CRIPPS' IMPERIALIST HYPOCRISY

[*Broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO (Germany) on March 25, 1942.*]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose, who is still alive, speaking to you over the 'Azad Hind' radio. British news agencies have spread all over the world the report that I had died in an aeroplane crash on my way to Tokyo to attend an important conference there. Ever since I left India last year, British propaganda agencies have from time to time given contradictory reports of my whereabouts, while newspapers in England have not hesitated to use uncomplimentary language about myself. The latest report about my death is perhaps an instance of wishful thinking. I can imagine that the British Government would, at this critical hour in India's history, like to see me dead since they are now trying their level best to win India over to their side for the purpose of their imperialistic war.

"I have not before me at the present moment the full particulars of the aeroplane disaster referred to above. I cannot, therefore, say if it was the result of sabotage on the part of our enemy. In any case, I beg to offer my respectful homage to the memory of those who lost their lives in that tragic event. Their names will be written in letters of gold in the history of our struggle for independence. They were the national heroes of India.

"I have considered very carefully the offer of the British Government to India and the radio speech of Sir Stafford

Cripps in that connection. I feel perfectly convinced that it is now quite clear that Sir Stafford has gone to India to try the age-long policy of British imperialism—'divide and rule'. Many people in India did not expect Sir Stafford Cripps to play a role which might very well have been reserved for a Conservative politician like Mr. Amery. Sir Stafford has himself assured us that the terms offered to India are, in his opinion, the soundest and the best, and that the members of the British Cabinet were all unanimous over these proposals.

"This affords one further proof that, in Britain, all party differences disappear when the question of India comes up. Sir Stafford has told us that India is a sub-continent inhabited by many races and peoples. I would like to remind him that India was unified under the empire of Ashoka the Great, several centuries before the Christian era—more than 1,000 years before England was unified.

"Britain has, in other parts of her Empire, for instance in Ireland and Palestine, used the religious issue in order to divide the people. She has been utilizing in India for that same purpose not only this issue but other imperial weapons like the Indian Princes, Depressed Classes, etc. Now Sir Stafford is in India to use the same instrument for imperialistic ends. It is no less striking that Sir Stafford is applying the old imperialist policy of working for a compromise with one section of the people while simultaneously suppressing the other. That is why on the one side Sir Stafford is conferring with one set of politicians, while on the other the fearless and uncompromising fighters for independence are safely lodged behind prison bars. The Indian people are fully aware of this nefarious policy of British politicians. I have no doubt that the spirit of our freedom-fighters will hurl down the prison walls and inspire the people of India to know that this is an insult to India's self-respect and honour.

"As the London paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, has remarked, Sir Stafford's proposals contain nothing that is fundamentally new. The essence is Dominion Status within the Empire, which will be realized only when the war is over. But, according to the terms of the offer, the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps and the comments of English papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, it is quite clear that the real intention of the British Government is to split India into a number of States, just as Ireland was split up at the end of the last war. I am doubtful whether India will even look at such an offer. Indians are by nature hospitable, and Sir Stafford will be committing a grievous mistake if he interpreted such hospitality to mean the acceptance of his offer.

"Sir Stafford reached the height of imperialist hypocrisy

when, at a press conference at Delhi, he remarked that Indians have not been able to produce an agreed constitution. But the Indian people know from their own bitter experience that only the British Government is responsible for the corruption and bribery in India. The Indian people are, therefore, convinced that they can no longer hope to win their freedom by discussion or argument, propaganda and passive resistance, but must now resort to other methods that are more effective and powerful.

"Sir Stafford also mentioned that while the war is going on, a new constitution cannot be framed for India, and hence the inauguration of Dominion Status will begin on the termination of the war. I may remind Sir Stafford Cripps that, as early as October 1939, I replied to the British Government by suggesting that a Provisional National Government, commanding the confidence of the majority of the people, should be set up at once. This Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the present Indian Legislative Assembly. In other words, this Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the elected members of the Indian Assembly. This suggestion was first of all put forward by me on behalf of the Forward Bloc of the Congress, and it being practicable and reasonable, the official Congress Committee also adopted it as their own demand. The fact, however, is that the British Government is not ready to part with power at the present moment. By raising the issue of the minorities or of the Princes or of the so-called Depressed Classes they can at any time find a plea that Indians are not united. Sir Stafford must be living in a fool's paradise if he thinks that, by offering such hopeless offers, he can satisfy India's hunger for freedom. In the last World War, with the help of India, the war was won by England, but India's reward was further suppression and massacre. India has not forgotten those episodes, and she will see also that the present golden opportunity is not lost.

"Since the beginning of this century, the British Government has been using another organization as a counterblast to the Congress in order to reject its demands. She has been using the Muslim League for this purpose, because that party is regarded as pro-British in its outlook. In fact, British propaganda has tried to create the impression that the Muslim League is almost as influential a body as the Congress, and that it represents the majority of India's Muslims. This, however, is far from the truth. In reality there are several influential and important Muslim organizations which are thoroughly nationalist. Moreover out of the 11 provinces in British India out of which only 4 have a majority of Muslims, only one,

the Punjab, has a Cabinet which may be regarded as a Muslim League Cabinet. But even the Punjab Premier is strongly opposed to the main programme of the Muslim League, namely the division of India. Consequently, it seems that the Muslim League only commands a majority in a single province of India. But even then it is said that the majority of the Muslims will not stand for Indian independence.

"As far as the defence of India is concerned, it is stated in the British proposals that, so long as the war lasts, the full military control of India will be directly in the hands of Britain, not even in the hands of the Viceroy or the Commander-in-Chief in India. By this policy, Britain wants to achieve a two-fold purpose. She desires, on the one hand, to utilize to the fullest extent India's resources for the whole Empire, and, on the other, to force thereby the enemies of Britain to attack Britain's military base in India, so that the Indian people may be provoked into voluntarily entering the war as Britain's ally. I would like to affirm, with all the emphasis at my command, that all the pro-British Indians who are participating in Britain's war will alone be responsible if the war came ultimately to India. I would like further to warn my countrymen that Britain's sole object now is to drag the Indian people into the war. It has been a successful game of the British people to get other nations involved in the war. Up to the present time they have been carrying out glorious retreats and successful evacuations. Recently they have adopted a novel policy of burning and destroying everything before taking to their heels. If the British Government apply these scorched-earth tactics to their own country, that is no concern of ours. But I have every reason to believe that they have decided to apply these scorched-earth tactics in Ceylon and India, should the war come there. Therefore, participation in Britain's war will not only hinder Britain's defeat and overthrow, but will also delay the attainment of independence for Indians."

5. OPEN LETTER TO CRIPPS

[*Broadcast over Azad Radio* (*Germany*) *on March 31, 1942*]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking. I shall now address an open letter to Sir Stafford Cripps, in English.

"Dear Sir Stafford Cripps,

The world has been told that you have undertaken a mission on behalf of the British Prime Minister and the Cabinet to go to India and try to save India for the British Empire. It is understandable that the present Prime Minister and the

Cabinet should make use of you for this purpose. But it passes one's comprehension that you, Sir Stafford, should accept such a job. You are well aware of the reactionary character of the present Cabinet. The presence of Labourites in it does not alter its real character. Having been forced to keep company with the Labour Party some years ago, you perhaps know more than anybody how unprogressive that party is, particularly on questions dealing with India and other suppressed nations of the Empire. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's National Cabinet could at least claim to have Labour support, but even that is lacking in the present Cabinet.

"In the days when you fought with the British Labour Party in vindication of your own principles and convictions, you commanded the admiration of many people including myself. You have been so anti-Imperialist in your outlook that you even advocated the abolition of the monarchy which has served as the corner-stone of British Imperialism. That fundamental position of yours has altered so radically that you accepted a portfolio under Mr. Winston Churchill, than whom a more anti-Indian Englishman it is difficult to find in the whole of Britain. People who know you personally, or who have followed your career with interest, are consequently quite puzzled at your present political stand. One can easily understand Mr. Churchill. He is an imperialist, believing in the policy of brute force and he makes no bones about it. Even the British Labour Party's attitude we can perhaps understand. British Labour leaders are in reality as Imperialistic as the Conservatives are, though they may talk in a more polite and seductive manner. We have faced the Labour Party's administration in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931.

"On both these occasions we had to spend our time in British prisons, sometimes without any trial whatsoever. India will never forget that between 1929 and 1931 a Labour Cabinet was responsible for putting about 100,000 men and women into prison, for ordering large-scale lathi charges on men and women all over the country, for shooting down of defenceless crowds as in Peshawar, and for burning houses and dishonouring women as in the villages of Bengal. You were one of the sharpest critics of the Labour Party when in London in January 1938, I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance. But today you appear to be quite a different man.

"You may perhaps say that your task is to bring about a reconciliation between India and England. But your Cabinet has made it perfectly clear that the offer to India is not one of independence but of Dominion Status within the Empire, and further, that Dominion Status will be promulgated not im-

mediately but at the end of the war. You have just declared in Delhi that your attitude towards India is the same as that of Mr. Churchill. We are grateful to you for such frankness, but are you not aware what the Indian people think of British promises? **Are you not also aware that the history of British rule in India is a history of broken pledges and unredeemed promises?** And knowing as you do that the Indian National Congress stands for undiluted independence is it not an insult to India that a man of your position and reputation should go out there with such an offer in his pocket? Another matter which has pained all patriotic Indians is that your programme is to get into touch with leaders of all possible parties in India, no matter whether they are representatives of the masses or individuals. You at least should be aware that some of these parties have so far been used by British politicians as a counter-blast to the Congress and in order to minimize its influence and importance. It is also surprising that you are reassuring the Princes that they have nothing to fear from the coming changes. Your work in respect of the Princes was already taken in hand by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in anticipation of your arrival. **To a neutral observer therefore, your role appears to be the same historic role of deceit and duplicity which British politicians have played in the past.**

At the beginning of this war British politicians talked very loudly of freedom and democracy. At the same time, they have been bolstering up the claims of minorities in order to exaggerate India's differences, and thereby keep India under perpetual domination. The minorities problem is not something peculiar to India, it is to be found all the world over. If British politicians really believe in democracy why don't they apply the democratic solution to India and solve the Indian problem? British politicians and the British propaganda machine have been continually reminding us since 1939 that the Axis Powers are a menace to India and now we are being told that India is in danger of an attack by the enemy. But is not this sheer hypocrisy? **India has no enemies outside her own frontiers. Her one enemy is British imperialism and the only adversary that India has to get rid of is the perpetual aggression of British imperialism.** It was the British Government that declared India to be a belligerent power against the will of the Indian people and have since then been forcibly exploiting the resources of India for Britain's war purposes. Further, it was the same Government that interned and imprisoned in India the nationals of Germany, Italy and Japan after the outbreak of war. **The Axis Powers and the Indian people realize that they are not at war with one another, and the former**

have not, therefore, imprisoned Indian nationals living in their countries, and have nothing but sympathy and goodwill for them. I am convinced that if India does not participate in Britain's war there is not the least possibility of India being attacked by any of the Axis Powers."

6. THANK YOU JAPAN!

[Broadcast over Azad Hind Radio (Germany) on April 6, 1942]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the "Azad Hind Radio' in reply to the historic declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan.

"His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan, General Tojo, has, after the fall of Singapore and of Rangoon, made two historic pronouncements on the Indian problem.* These declarations are of such great significance that it is necessary for India to speak in reply what her attitude is. On behalf of all freedom-loving Indians in India and abroad, I offer my sincere thanks to the Japanese Prime Minister for his outspoken sympathy for Indian independence. The slogan he has uttered, 'India for the Indians', will go down in history as the prophetic utterance of a far-seeing statesman. **Ever since the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, the Indian people have looked upon the awakening in Japan with admiration. It was through Japan that Asia first asserted her self-respect and honour. A strong Japan, therefore, is in the best interests of Asia.**

"I welcome most heartily the statement of His Excellency the Prime Minister that Japan is determined to destroy completely the influence of Anglo-American imperialism in the East. Until this is done, Asia will be under a perpetual danger. Asia, and particularly India, will be for ever grateful to the Tripartite Powers if they can dispose of this menace once for all. **The present war which the Tripartite Powers are waging against Britian and America, is of vital interest to India, and the Indian people are, therefore, following with joy and satisfaction the continued defeats of the Anglo-American forces.**

" It will be wrong for me to ignore the fact that there is a certain section among the Indian pepole that is, for some reason or other, on the side of Britain. This is but natural in a country that has been so long under a foreign yoke. But I may say without the slightest exaggeration that **the vast majority of**

***See Appendix for texts of these two pronouncements.**

the Indian people are burning with the desire to break their shackles of bondage. For them this war is a God-sent opportunity for realizing their long-cherished aspirations and achieve independence.

"The people of India remember quite clearly how they were deceived and betrayed by British politicians during the last World War. They have no desire to repeat that experience. They know that British rule in India has been one long record of broken pledges and unredeemed promises. They have, therefore, resolved to liquidate once for all the British regime in India, which was born of robbery and corruption and which has thrived on injustice and oppression.

" I can assure His Excellency the Prime Minister that **India will not miss this golden opportunity, which is indeed rare in the lifetime of a nation.** The Indian people are today fully conscious of the two factors that are primarily responsible for her servitude and her isolation from the rest of the world and her internal disunity. This lesson, which they have learnt from bitter and painful experience, they will never forget. As in the old days, when India was a free, proud and progressive nation, so also **in future will the Indian people live in the closest friendship with all the other nations of the world, and in particular with the Tripartite Powers, and thereby contribute to the common culture and civilization of humanity, and it will be an honour and privilege for India to co-operate intimately with Japan in the noble task of creating a great Asia that will be free, happy and prosperous."**

" Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !"

7. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

[*Broadcast over Azad Hind Radio (Germany) on April 10, 1942*]

" This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the ' Azad Hind Radio ' on the political situation in India. Sisters and brothers ! it is rather painful to hear that even after the reactionary and monstrous character of the British proposals for India, it seems to the world that some of our countrymen are still carrying on laboured discussion with Mr. Winston Churchill's envoy in India, Sir Stafford Cripps.

"Isolated from the military frontiers of India and poisoned by British propaganda, some of our people at home may not realise for the moment that the British Empire is now breaking up and that it will soon disappear from the face of the earth.

Consequently, even if the British were to offer to India terms that are far more conciliatory than the present British propoals there is no meaning in entering into a compromise with such a power. There is no Indian today who has the least faith in British promises which are to be fulfilled at the end of the war. In the face of these difficulties, some of our liberal friends have endeavoured to facilitate a compromise by suggesting that the Governments of the Allied Powers and of the British Dominions should guarantee to India that Britain's promises will be redeemed when the war is over. But what value is there in such guarantees when we have no power to enforce their fulfilment ? Have we forgotton what happend to President Wilson's 14 points ? Have we forgotten that President Roosevelt's envoy, Ronald Donovan, travelled all over the Balkans with letters from the President in his pocket urging the Balkan countries to declare war on the Axis Powers ? And have we forgotten that all these countries that were provoked and instigated into joining in the war were ultimately left to their fate by the all-promising President when the Axis forces overpowered them ? I am sure that even if some people are still blind the vast majority of our countrymen realise that the United States of America are playing a role of father to the insane and they regard themselves as the heirs of the British Empire that has gone into compulsory liquidation. **It is comical to see men who have been and still are slaves of the British appointing themselves saviours of the British Empire.** But no power on earth can save that Empire which is now going the way of all other Empires of the past. **Even if India were to fight for Britain to the last man with all her resources the overthrow of the latter cannot possibly be averted.** Britain has to reap the unavoidable fruits of her past policy in keeping India enslaved and impoverished. **And even if a National Government were to be set up in India tomorrow it could not possibly build up and equip a modern army during the course of the present war.** Is it not then typical that the Indian saviours of British Imperialism are the men who regard themselves as the National democrats. These estimable gentlemen gave their lives in the past for the glory of British Imperialism. It is because they are lionized by the wily British that they conveniently forget that India today lies under the heel of Britain. **They talk of lining up with the progressive forces of the world. They do not talk frankly of co-operating with Britain but camouflage their real motives by asking the Indian people to co-operate with China or Russia or America.** But, such camouflage cannot deceive the Indian people who are fully aware that the British Empire is by no means democratic. I consider it my duty to warn my country-

men that in the present crisis which faces India compromise-hunting is like war-mongering. **The British have been using India as their military base partly because they want to provoke the Tripartite Powers into attacking India** so that the Indian people may be ultimately persuaded to fight with Britain. The Tripartite Powers, on their part, have openly declared their sympathy for Indian Independence. They have no desire whatsoever of attacking India just as they have no intention of attacking peaceful Ireland. Their only interest is to destroy Britain's military base in India without which the war cannot be brought to a victorious conclusion.

To make a compromise with England now, on the basis of co-operation in Britain's war effort, is converting India into an enemy of the Tripartite Powers and forcing these powers to attack not only Britain's military base in India but all those Indians who co-operate in Britain's war effort. Do those who are now seeking a compromise with Britain realise that they are really working for bringing the war into India? **The immediate effect of a compromise will be bringing the war to Indian soil and the destruction of India's wealth and resources and the retarding of India's freedom. It will mean the immediate declaration of war on the Tripartite Powers by the compromise hunters in India and it will mean bearing England's imminent defeat and all the hate and humiliation that it will imply.**

When the British flee the country on the eve of their defeat, just as General MacArthur and General Wavell have done elsewhere, they will burn and destroy everything in accordance with their new fangled scorched-earth policy. When India is not in the warzone why are the British acting as war-mongers? **Not only will the people have to experience the horrors of war at home but they will be fighting a war which can only end in abject defeat.** Our countrymen will easily realize from a glance at a map how precarious Britain's position is today. Britain has been expelled from Europe. In Africa, after her preliminary victories, she is now on the retreat. In the Near and Middle East, which she had uptil now held in subjugation, is like a powder magazine and only a spark is needed for an explosion. In the Far East, she has been liquidated and kicked out from everywhere by the Japanese. Her only hope is, therefore, India, and that is why Sir Stafford Cripps is today at our door-steps. **But. India cannot save the Empire from its inevitable doom. She can either go down with that Empire or maintain her neutrality.** If Sir Stafford Cripps claims to be a friend of India the best service he can now render is to keep India out of this war. India will then be able to look after herself and enjoy independence. The British have at long last realised that they do not any more enjoy complete authority

in India, that is why they commandeered the services of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and that is why Mr. Louis Johnson has been rushed to India carrying letters from the White House in his pocket. The Americans are warning the Indian people what dire disaster will overtake them if they do not respond to the offers made by Mr. Winston Churchill and Washington. I appeal to my countrymen not to be duped by British propaganda any longer. **It will be the biggest disaster for India if they fall into the trap laid by Allied politicians. Our first duty is to prevent our land becoming the next theatre of war and we can do so only by refusing to co-operate in Britain's imperialist war. I can assert with a full sense of responsibility that if India is not used as a military base for Britain there is not the slightest possibility of India being attacked by the Tripartite Powers.** My next appeal to my countrymen is that after keeping the war out of India, they should without the least delay renew the national struggle for independence in a more intensified way. Britain has turned down India's demand for immediate independence and it is now for India to fight for her own freedom. What better opportunity can one dream of for achieving India's emancipation?

"In conclusion I want to tell my countrymen that we, who happen to be outside India, have not been idle all these months. We have been following the international situation with the closest interest and have also been preparing ourselves for the coming struggle—the final struggle which will bring India to her cherished goal of liberty and freedom. **We are aware that British sea-power, on which the Empire was built, has already become a legend of the past. We are aware that Britain has neither the air force nor the man-power for holding India against the Japanese. It is, therefore, clear that we shall have to march to India in order to participate in the last struggle for our national freedom.** We will fight with all our might and all our resources; and with God's grace and the help of friends win our freedom".

8. THE AXIS POWERS AND INDIA

[Broadcast from BERLIN on May 1, 1942]

"Brothers and sisters, I addressed you last on the occasion of the 'Jalianwala Bagh Day' nearly three weeks ago and I then reminded you once again of the hypocrisy underlying the whole plan of the British Government which culminated in the journey of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. Sir Stafford offered, on the one hand, a promise of Dominion Status for the future, and, on

the other, he demanded the immediate co-operation in Britain's war effort and he expected the Indian people to accept such an absurd proposition. Rightly enough the contemptible offer of the British was rejected unconditionally and this was a matter of joy and happiness to Indians in every part of the world. I must, however, state that it was a painful surprise to find that after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and despite the refusal of the British Government to concede India's national demand, some prominent countrymen of ours have begun to publicly advocate a policy which amounts to unconditional co-operation with Britain in the war effort.

" Is human memory so short that these gentlemen have forgotten the resolutions of the Indian National Congress from 1927 to 1938, which deal with the war ? Did we not reaffirm year after year from 1927 to 1938 that when the next war comes we shall refuse to participate in it and that we shall resist every attempt on the part of the British Government to drag India into that war ? In September 1939, when the present war broke out, did not the Indian National Congress deliberately refuse to render unconditional co-operation to the British Government ? And, did not the Congress take disciplinary action against an expel from its ranks such a prominent leader as Mr. M. N. Roy for the crime of advocating unconditional co-operation with the British Government ? We are, therefore, awaiting to see what disciplinary action will be taken against these gentlemen who are so unceremoniously flouting the principle of the Congress. I also know that these new converts to the creed of co-operation will assert that they altered their principle and policy in order to meet a new menace, the menace of aggression from without. But I would like to ask them if the aggression against which the Indian people have been fighting so long, the perpetual aggression of British Imperialism, has been successfully fought and destroyed. In spite of all that British propaganda has been saying or may say in future, it should be clear to all right thinking Indians that **in this world India has but one enemy, the enemy which has robbed her of her freedom, that enemy which has been exploiting her for years and years and that enemy is British Imperialism.** It is a tragedy that some of our countrymen have been so duped by British propaganda that they have forgotten the real enemy, India's one and only enemy, that keeps India enslaved even now. **These misguided people talk of aggression by Japan or Germany or Italy without knowing at first hand what policy these powers have with regard to India.**

"Friends, I know something about these powers and their foreign policy. I have been in intimate and personal contact with them ever since I left my home more than a year ago and

I can assure you with all seriousness and sincerity that these three Powers want to see India fully independent and mistress of her own destiny. The three Powers are determined to defeat and destroy British Imperialism. It is the task of the rising generation of the Indian people, in whose hands rests the future of their country, to utilise the present international crisis to the fullest extent, so that out of the ashes of the British Empire may rise a free and liberated India. I am not an apologist of the three Powers and it is not my task to defend what they have done or may do in future. That is a task which devolves on these nations themselves and they are quite able to deal with it. My concern, however, is with India; and it is my duty as a patriotic Indian to find out and tell my countrymen the policy of the different powers with regard to India. **If British Imperialism is defeated and annihilated, India will win her freedom. If on the other hand, British Imperialism were somehow to win the war which, however, is quite impossible, then India's slavery will be perpetuated for ever.** India is, therefore, presented with the choice between freedom and slavery and she must take her choice in favour of freedom. For the Indians of today, it is the chance of a life-time and for India it is an opportunity rare in human history.

"Friends, **I laugh whenever I hear Britain's propagandists calling me an enemy agent.** I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life, which has been one long, consistent and continuous record of uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, is the best guarantee of my *bona fides*. Perhaps better than any other Indian today, I know foreign politics and I have known Britishers from my childhood. **All my life I have been a servant of India and in the last hours of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been and will be to India and to India alone.** British propagandists, who have been well silenced by Prime Minister Tojo's historical declaration of 'India for the Indians' have now fallen back on their last argument, which is drawn from the Sino-Japanese struggle. They are now shouting from the house-tops 'see what the Japanese have done in China.' I may tell these propagandists, both British and Indian, that when I was the President of the Indian National Congress I was responsible for giving effect to the Congress resolution to send a goodwill mission to China. Those were the days when Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was fighting for his national principles and that was why he could win the sympathy of Indians in an overwhelming degree. But the Marshal, who came to India the other day to ask the Indian people to fight for England, was quite a different man, a puppet of the Anglo-American Powers. And, **the Japan that the**

Marshal is now fighting is quite a different Japan, a Japan that is at war with Britain and America, Japan that is determined to annihilate Anglo-American Imperialism in the East, a Japan with whom Marshal Chiang Kai-shek can come to an honourable understanding today if he can emancipate himself from the grips of his Anglo-American masters.

9. COUNTRYMEN ! KEEP FIGHTING

[*Broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO (Germany) on August 31, 1942*]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the Azad Hind Radio.

"Comrades! Since I spoke to you last, about two weeks ago, the movement in India has been continuing with unabated vigour, and has been spreading like wild-fire from the towns to the country-side. The British propaganda machinery throughout the month has tried to give the impression that the campaign is now subsiding and that things are quietening down. But this attempt has completely failed, because in the same breath the B. B. C. and its agents have given, or rather have been forced to give, news of more shooting on unarmed men and women all over the country. I can assure you that in the year of grace 1942, India can no longer be isolated from the rest of the world, however much Britain may try to draw a veil over that land. As a matter of fact, every bit of news regarding India's national struggle, every incident in Indian towns and villages, every case of shooting, whether in Ramnath or in Wardha, in Bikrampore or in Lucknow, is immediately flashed all over the world, is broadcast over the radio and published in the Press in all those countries that are either hostile to the Allied Powers or are neutral. Comrades, I know very well how in all the previous campaigns we were hard put to it to inform the outside world about the happenings in India and about the atrocities committed by British imperialists. Today, the problem does not exist, and it is my pleasant task to keep the outside world informed about all events in India and to secure all the sympathy and help that India may need in her hour of trial. If today you could see with your own eyes and hear with your own ears all that is being propagated by your friends abroad about India's epic struggle, you would realize the measure of sympathy that India is receiving from the enemies of British imperialism. And, this sympathy for India is bound to grow in volume and intensity as British terror and brutality increases. The

more we suffer and the more we sacrifice in the pursuit of our national freedom, the more will India's prestige go up in the eyes of the world.

"Comrades, I should like to tell you further that while we have gained the moral sympathies of public opinion throughout the world, **it is also possible for us to obtain from abroad any help that we may need for our emancipation. Therefore, in the fight against all the modern forms of terror and brutality, if you feel overwhelmed at any time and if you desire your friends abroad to give you the hand of assistance, you have only to say so. But, these friends who are anxious to see India free, will not offer their help to you, so long as you do not need it, and for our national honour and self-interest, we should not ask for any assistance so long as we can do without it.** In this connection, I would appeal to you once again, to fully trust your countrymen abroad who are working heart and soul with you for the speedy liberation of India. We are today the custodians of India's national honour, the 'unofficial ambassadors' of free India. As at home, so also abroad, **we stand always for Independence, and we shall never permit vital encroachments on our national sovereignty by any foreign power. Do not be carried away by ideological considerations; do not bother about the internal politics of other countries, which is no concern of ours. Believe me when I say that the enemies of British imperialism are our friends and allies. It is to their interest to see the British Empire broken up, and India is once again free.** And they know very well that so long as India remains under the British yoke, there can be no victory for them and there can be no peace. **In the political field, I should be the last man to expect foreign Powers to sympathize with us if it were not in their own interest to do so.**

"Comrades, you must have observed how during the last few months the British Empire has been passing through its darkest hours. Gone are the days when London was the metropolis of the world. Gone are the days when kings and statesmen had to wend their way to London in order to have their problems solved. Gone are the days when the American President had to come to Europe to meet the British Prime Minister. As the English poet, Tennyson, has himself said, "The old order changes yielding place to new, and God fulfils himself in many ways". Consequently, the British Prime Minister has now to run to New York and Washington and Americans in Britain are declared to be outside the jurisdiction of British laws, and American officers have refused command of British forces in many theatres of war. Thus, Britain and her Empire are fast

becoming a colony of Roosevelt's 'New Empire'. But India has no desire to remain in the Old Empire, and she must therefore, now fight both the old imperialism as well as the new. The most interesting phase of the metamorphosis that has overtaken the British Empire is the fact that the High Priest of Imperialism, the arch-enemy of Indian nationalism, the sworn opponent of all forms of Socialism, the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, has had to swallow all his former imperialist pride and present himself at the gates of the Kremlin in Moscow.

"Is it not significant that in his desperation this representative of British imperialism should do everything else, but under no circumstances will he think of recognizing India's independence? India is the jewe of the British Empire, and in order to do everything possible to keep this jewel, the British people will fight to the last. The Indian people, therefore, and particularly the leaders, should banish all hopes that Britain will accede to India's demands, and should carry on the struggle till the last Britisher is expelled from India. In the last days of our campaign there will be much suffering and sorrow, much persecution and slaughter, much suppression and massacre. But that is the price of liberty and it has to be paid. It is but natural that in its last hours the British lion will bite hard, but it is after all the bite of a dying lion, and we shall survive it.

Comrades, in this critical hour our strategy should consist in continuing the fight for our independence regardless of the consequences. **The British Empire will soon collapse and break up as a result of shattering defeats in all the theatres of war. And when the final dismemberment of the Empire takes place power will automatically come into the hands of the Indian people.** Our final victory will come as a result of our efforts alone. Consequently, it does not matter in the least if we in India suffer temporary set-backs, specially when we are confronted with machine-guns, bombs, tanks and aeroplanes. Our task is to continue the national struggle inspite of all obstacles and set-backs till the hour of liberation arrives.

"There is no cause to be depressed because the leaders are imprisoned. On the contrary, their sufferings will serve as a perpetual inspiration to the entire nation. I have been offering during the last 20 years to conduct the campaign even when all the men are in prison. Moreover, those who are now away from the field of action have given you the plan that has to be executed by you now.

"Comrades, I have already assured you that **whatever I have been doing abroad is in accordance with the wishes**

of a very large section of my countrymen. I will not do anything which the whole India will not wholeheartedly endorse. Ever since I left home I have remained in intimate contact with my countrymen at home through more channels than one, in spite of all the efforts of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India and the British Secret Service. During the last few months you have had proof of my close contact with my countrymen in India and many of you know by now how you can communicate with me whenever you so desire. I may now tell you that it is no longer possible for the British to prevent my going to India or getting out whenever I wish to do so. I have seen some of the secret reports of the Government of India regarding the "*Azad Hind Radio*" and myself, and they have made me laugh. If the British authorities think that thay know all about me I am blowed, but I shall one day be able to give them the fight of their lives. There is no harm if I also inform the British Government in this connection that the tactics they have been using in enemy countries have been carefully studied by our men, and they have been found to be extremely useful in our fight against our old enemy, British imperialism.

Comrades, at the present moment all the countries that are being suppressed or dominated by Britain are either in a state of revolt or are preparing for one. If we in India continue our struggle we shall not only effect our emancipation speedily, but will also expedite the liberation of all countries exploited and dominated by Britain. On the other hand, if the Indian people remain inactive, the enemies of Britain will take the initiative in expelling the British from India. The British Empire is in any case doomed, and the only question is as to what will happen to us when its final dissolution takes place. Shall we obtain our freedom as a right from other Powers or shall we win it by our own effort? I would request Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Savarkar and all those leaders who still think of a compromise with the British to realize once for all that **in the world of tomorrow there will be no British Empire.** All those individuals, groups or parties who now participate in the fight for freedom will have an honoured place in the India of tomorrow. The supporters of British imperialism will naturally become nonentities in a free India. In this connection I will appeal earnestly to all parties and groups to consider this and to think in terms of nationalism and anti-imperialism, and to come forward and join the epic struggle that is going on now. I appeal to the progressive elements of the Muslim League, with some of whom I have had the privilege of co-operating in the work of the Calcutta Corporation in 1940.

I appeal to the brave *Majlis-i-Ahrar*, the nationalist Muslim Party of India, that started the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1939 against Britain's war effort before any other party did so. I appeal to the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, the old representative organization of the Ulemas or the Muslim divines of India, led by that distinguished patriot and leader Mufti Khifayat Ullah. I appeal to the Azad (Independent) Muslim League, another important organization of the nationalist Muslims of India. I appeal to the *Akali Dal*, the leading nationalist Sikh party of India. And last but not the least I appeal to the *Praja Party* of Bengal, which commands the confidence of that Province, and is led by well-known patriots. I have no doubt that if all these organizations join in this struggle the day of India's liberation will be drawn nearer.

"The campaign that is now going on in India may be described as a non-violent guerrilla warfare. In this guerrialla war the tactics of dispersal have to be employed. In other words, we should spread out our activites all over the country so that the British police and military may not be able to concentrate their attack on one point. In accordance with the principles of guerrilla war, we should also be as mobile as possible and should move continuously from place to place. The authorities should never be able to predict where our activities will emerge next. Friends, as you know already, I have been through all the campaigns between 1921 and 1940, and I know the causes of their failure. I have now had the opportunity of taking expert advice with regard to the tactics of guerrilla warfare, and I am in a position to offer you some suggestions as to how this present campaign should be brought to a victorious end. The object of this non-violent guerrilla campaign should be a two-fold one. Firstly, to destroy war production in India, and, secondly, to paralyse the British administration in that country. Keeping these objects in view, every section of the community should participate in the struggle. Firstly, stop paying all taxes that directly or indirectly bring revenue to the Government. Secondly, workers in all industries should either launch a 'stay-in' strike or try to hamper production by conducting a 'go slow' campaign inside the factories. They should also carry out sabotage with such methods as the removing of nuts and bolts in order to impede production. Thirdly, students should organize secret guerrilla bands for carrying on sabotage in different parts of the country. They should also invent new ways of annoying the British authorities, for example, burning stamps, etc., in post offices, destroying British monuments, etc. Fourthly, women, and especially girl students, should do underground

work of all kinds especially as secret messengers or to provide shelter for the men who fight. Fifthly, Government officials, who are prepared to help the campaign, should not resign their posts but those in Government offices and in war industries should give all available information to fighters outside, and should try to hamper production by working inefficiently. Sixthly, servants, who are working in the houses of Britishers, should be organized for the purpose of giving trouble to their masters, for example by demanding higher salaries, cooking and serving bad food and drinks, etc. Seventhly, Indians should give up all business with banks, firms, insurance companies, etc. Eighthly, listen to the broadcasts of Col. Britton in the European Service of the B.B.C. and apply the Colonel's tactics to the Indian situation.

"For the general public I also suggest the following activities :—

(a) Boycott of British goods, including burning of British stalls and Government stores.

(b) Total boycott of all Britishers in India, and of those Indians who are pro-British.

(c) Holding of Public meetings and demonstration in spite of official prohibition.

(d) Publishing of secret bulletins, and setting up of secret radio station.

(e) Marching to the houses of British Government officials and demanding their departure from India.

(f) Organizing of processions for entering and occupying Government offices, Secretariat buildings, law courts, etc., with a view to hampering the administration.

(g) Arranging to punish police officers and prison officials who oppress and persecute the people.

(k) Begin erecting barricades in the streets where there is a likelihood of attack from the police and the military.

(i) Setting fire to Government offices and factories which are working for war purposes.

(j) Interrupting postal, telegraph and telephone communication as frequently as possible and in different places.

(k) Interrupting railway, bus and tram services, whenever there is a possibility of hampering the transport of soldiers or of war material.

(l) Destroying police stations, railway stations and jails in isolated places.

"Comrades, I can assure you, that as soon as this programme is put into operation, the administrative machinery can be brought to a stand still. In this connection, I must remind you that in a non-violent guerrilla campaign the peasantry always plays a decisive part. I am glad to observe that in several provinces—in Bihar and in the Central Provinces—the peasants are already in the forefront. I earnestly hope that Swami Sahjanand Saraswati and other peasant leaders, who together with the 'Forward Bloc' started the fight along before Mahatma Gandhi, will now lead the campaign to a victorious conclusion. I will appeal to Swami Sahjanand and the leaders of the *Kisan* (Peasant) Movement to come forward and fulfil their leading role in the last phase of the fight. We want *Swaraj* for the masses, *Swaraj* for the workers and the peasants. It is, therefore, the duty of the workers and the peasants to emerge as the vanguard of the national army at a time when the future of India is being made. It is the law of nature that those who fight for liberty and win it, will retain power and responsibility. It is very encouraging, friends, to find that the people of the Indian States have begun to participate in this All-India struggle. Reports to the effect have already come from Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad, and I am confident that the day is not far off when the States people will line-up with the people of British India and form a common front against the combined friends of British imperialism and the Indian Princes. Most gratifying of all is the news that the clarion call of liberty has reached the ears and the hearts of our soldiers at home and abroad. They have no doubt been court-martialled with characteristic British brutality. But the fire is spreading from one place to another. A large number of soldiers have voluntarily deserted to join the Axis forces in Egypt and they are being welcomed with open arms by them. All the Indian fighting units have been withdrawn from the El Alamein front, as being unreliable. No wonder some supporters of British imperialism have been brought up from India in order to impress the Indian troops. But their efforts have so far failed. **I will be able to keep the outside world informed of all the facts of the Indian situation so to secure from the enemies of Britain all the help that India may now need.**

"In conclusion I would like to point out that this campaign should be carried out for weeks and if necessary for months. If this non-violent guerilla war should continue sufficiently long, freedom will come because British imperialism will ultimately break down owing to the cumulative effect

of defeats sustained on different fronts. Do not forget for one moment that the British Empire is now on its last legs.

"At the same time, be prepared for every suffering because the apostles of freedom and democracy and the authors of the Atlantic Charter may do their very worst in the days to come. Before dawn comes the darkest hour. Be brave and continue the struggle, for freedom is at hand. Let your slogans be 'Now or Never'; 'Victory or Death'; 'Inquilab Zindabad.'"

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

[*Broadcast from BERLIN on October 15, 1942.*]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking from Berlin.

"Countrymen and friends! Since I spoke to you last over the radio, I have been travelling in another part of Europe in order to see conditions with my own eyes, and to establish contacts with my countrymen living there. On my return to Berlin, I have once again accepted the hospitality of the short-wave station here in order to speak to my countrymen all over the world. I desire to put before them the world situation so that all of us may clearly understand and determine our duty in future.

"Every Indian, whether at home or abroad, must have realised that since September 1939 the position of India *vis-a-vis* Britain has not undergone any change for the better, no matter what the military situation may have been during this period. There is not a single Indian who believes that if Britain were to win the war by some chance the position of India would improve as a consequence thereof. But I know that there are responsible Indians in high positions who believed at one time that if Britain suffered some serious reverses in the war the British Government would be in a chastened mood and would then contemplate a compromise with India. This expectation has not been fulfilled owing to the fact that the minds of British imperialists, like Churchill and Amery, work in a different way, and their political strategy is of a different sort. From the beginning, these imperialists had decided once for all not to surrender one jot to the demand for Indian independence. According to the needs of the situation, they would rather surrender to the United States of America, and later on they would try to make up for their losses by exploiting India even more than before. For this reason liberal-democrat politicians like Sir Stafford Cripps, who advocated some sort of an understanding with India, were kicked out of the war Cabinet.

"The policy of the ruling classes in the United States of America is now clear to the whole world. There is no hush about it any more. One has only to hear all the utterances of their public men in order to comprehend it. It is claimed by them that this country is in the American zone of influence and all other Powers, including the British, should acknowledge this fact and act accordingly. Strangely enough, even among British politicians a school of thought has already grown up which openly declares that Britain's place is a subordinate one, that the British should accept the world hegemony of the United States as an indisputable fact, and that it should merely try to hold together the Empire by some means or other. There can be no surer indication of demoralization in the British camp than the fact that British politicians have accepted defeat in advance. To the neutral observer, the British Empire presents a tragic spectacle indeed, because it is handing over one part of its territory unwillingly to its enemies and another part voluntarily to its great ally.

President Roosevelt is not committing the mistake which President Wilson did in the last war. Consequently, he is not helping Britain by a supply of war material and economic assistance gratis. His Government is insisting on cash payment everywhere and, in consequence British assets and securities all over the world are evaporating into thin air while the Americans are taking control of them. The U. S. Government has been occupying military bases all over the world at the expense of the British and the French Empires. And who is such a fool as to think that it will voluntarily return these bases at the end of the war? American troops are now to be found all over the British Empire, including England and Northern Ireland and also India. Everywhere within the Empire, American troops are under their own command and in some places, as in Australia and New Zealand, even British troops are under American command. **In other words, America is slowly, but surely, carrying out a peaceful military occupation of the British Empire.**

" As this military occupation is proceeding, the Americans are gradually asserting themselves in the political sphere as well. A shining example of this American self-assertion is the fact that American troops in England and in other parts of the empire are above the law of the land. They are directly under Washington and under the jurisdiction of American Law; consequently, the Americans today have the same extra-territorial rights which the British enjoyed for a long time in China, Egypt and other countries.

" A recent example of American self-assertion at the cost of Britain is the manner in which General de Gaulle and his

claims were brushed aside and Admiral Darlan, the protegé of the White House, was pitch-forked into General de Gaulle's place in North Africa, in spite of all protests from the junior partner in the Anglo-American alliance. I confess that I was staggered the other day when the B. B. C. announced that Prime Minister Churchill had declared that the orders of an American, General Eisenhower, would be obeyed by the British authorities. One can hardly believe that the British Lion has been metamorphosed into a tame lamb by the master of the White House. But facts stare us in the face. The once almighty British Parliament cannot even venture to discuss in a public session the Darlan episode lest the American President be offended by it.

"So far as India is concerned, my countrymen are aware that American troops, American technical missions, American diplomatic agents are already there. The Americans are now openly saying that the Americans in India are not under the jurisdiction of London but of Washington, and along with this announcement, the White House is taking steps to tighten American hold over India at the expense of the British Government. No doubt Churchill and Amery and their colleagues are submitting to every humiliation at the hands of the White House because they hope that they will thereby save the Empire somehow. But the American President is a superior tactician. While thankfully accepting the abject submission and surrender of British politicians, he is relentlessly proceeding with his own plan of taking over the British Empire, lock, stock and barrel. He has now sent out as Ambassador to India Mr. William Phillips, because he was not content with the regime of the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. India will now have a new master in place of the worn-out Scotch Marquis. For the present, Mr. Phillips will be content with being the power behind the throne. But if the American plan were to prevail and the United States were somehow to win the war, then Mr. Phillips would openly step into the shoes of the last British Viceroy. But India has no desire to substitute an American Pro-Consul for a British Viceroy, and we must, therefore, fight this latest American threat to India.

"Countrymen and friends, **let us have no illusions about the role of the United States in the politics of the British Empire and of India.** We thankfully recognize the fact that a large section of the American people have sympathy for Indian independence, but unfortunately they are powerless to influence their own Government. **So far as American official policy towards India is concerned, it is as imperialistic as that of Britain. If the White House really wanted to do so, it could have forced Whitehall to concede independence to India, but instead of doing that, it is itself carrying out a**

peaceful occupation of India. And now Mr. Phillips is going out to India to make the necessary social contacts with the Indian people, so that in the fullness of time he and the U. S. Army can quietly replace Lord Linlithgow and the British Army and take over the reins of Government. Countrymen beware of him. Boycott him.

"Anglo-American propagandists have been conducting a terrific propaganda campaign regarding what would happen to this poor world if the Tripartite Powers win this war, and they are shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the small nations and of the minorities. But we the people of India, who represent one-fifth of the human race, know what will be our fate if the so-called United Nations were to win this war by any chance. The Atlantic Charter, of which we have heard so much, is as much a scrap of paper as President Wilson's Fourteen Points in the last war. But the application of even this scrap of paper has been officially denied to India because the Anglo-American Powers stand for an imperialist policy in India in an open and unashamed manner.

"British plans for post-war India have been made, and if British politicans were to have their own way, they would split up India into four or five States, under a strong imperialist Government which would exploit the country more intensively than hitherto, in order to make up for their losses in this war. The Union Jack would then fly not only over the capital of India as at present, but over the capitals of 'Hindustan', 'Pakistan', 'Rajasthan, 'Khalistan' and 'Pathanistan'. And, the Indian people would be given a British guarantee of permanent enslavement. Let Mr. M. A. Jinnah and his Muslim League ponder over this.

"Let us now consider what would happen to India if the British Empire were to be sent into compulsory liquidation by the White House and Wall Street, and if the American President became the 'Director of the World'. We are having a foretaste of this in the policy and the behaviour of the American Government today. **This Government has always demanded an open-door policy in China; but do the people of China or Japan or India or of any Asiatic countries have an open door in the United States of America ? Why has immigration in the U. S. A. been denied to the nations of Asia ?** Why have a large number of Indians, who had long been settled in the States, been denied citizenship rights in that country ? **If the Atlantic Charter has any meaning or significance for humanity, should not this insult and humiliation to India be removed at once ?** And if the ruling classes of America shed crocodile tears over the fate of the minorities elsewhere, why do they not first put their own

house in order ? Why do they not put a stop to the lynching of negroes, which goes on even today ? Why do they not remove the poll tax and similar disabilities imposed on the American negroes ? And if they profess to stand for freedom, democracy and fairplay, why do they not remove the social disabilities from which the negroes have to suffer in the States.

"**No, my countrymen, all this talk and all these high-sounding professions of American politicians and their President are sanctimonious hypocrises, just plain tommy rot.** And, if Mr. William Phillips were to replace the Marquis of Linlithgow and if the Yankee troops were to replace the Gordon Highlanders, India would remain where she is today. India's only hope of salvation lies in a complete overthrow of Anglo-American imperialism.

"Countrymen and friends, it is my duty to inform you that our enemies are now trying to play once again the trump-card which they used during the last war. That trump-card was atrocity propaganda against the then enemies of British imperialism. But the world has not forgotten entirely the lies and the blood-curdling stories spread by British propagandists at that time. Who has not read such books as 'Figures' or 'Crewe House' and 'Wartime Falsehoods' written by eminent British publicists on the subject of British propaganda during that war? Who does not still remember the confessions made by General Charteris and others after the war about the lies that they had deliberately and diabolically spread against their enemies while the war was on ? The world is wiser today as a result of that experience, and moreover, the development of the radio has now made it possible to expose the falsity of British propaganda at every step. So far as India is concerned I know that all this atrocity propaganda will fall flat. The Indian people know, perhaps better than anybody else, what British domination means. The foundation of British rule in India was laid by Robert Clive whom history has convincingly proved to have been a forgerer. The British Empire in India was built on bribery, treachery and fraud and not as a result of military prowess. During the long struggle for power in India, there is no cruelty, there is no atrocity that the British have not committed in that country. Who does not know that in our revolution of 1857 innocent men were bound hand and foot and shot dead by cannon fire. From 1857 till today, during a period of peace, the British police and military have indulged in every form of terror and brutality in order to break the backbone of the people. The official report of the British Government on the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre in 1919

accuses the British authorities and the British Army of inhuman cruelty, unwarranted massacre, and of every form of humiliation and torture including dishonouring of helpless women. And even after 1919, the lives of Indian men and the honour of Indian women have always been regarded by the British police and the military as mere playthings. Who in India does not know of the sufferings of the people of Midnapore in Bengal in 1930, when homes and villages were burnt and their womenfolk dishonoured because they were conducting a peaceful campaign for non-payment of taxes? The atrocities in the prisoners' camp at Hubli and in the towns of Dacca and Chittagong in 1931 are known to every household in Bengal. After the beginning of this war, I have seen with my own eyes the photos of beheaded Burmese sent by British tommies in Burma to their families in Britain. Such sadism is possible only among British tommies, and to cap everything, is there any parallel to be found for the atrocities now being perpetrated on unarmed men, women and children by the British police and military in India for their crime in demanding freedom? It does not lie in the mouths of Britishers to accuse anybody of committing atrocities when they are themselves past-masters in that game.

"Apart from the fact that India's only hope of emancipation lies in the defeat of Anglo-American imperialism, we have to acknowledge quite objectively that this war will end with the complete dismemberment of the British Empire. Part of this Empire will probably gravitate towards the United States of America. Large parts of it will emancipate themselves once for all and some parts of it will probably be distributed among the other Powers. Mr. Winston Churchill may not like to preside over the liquidation of the Empire and undoubtedly he is thoroughly sincere when he says so, but the policy that he has been following will inevitably lead the Empire to its doom. His presence at the helm of affairs in Whitehall is the surest guarantee for us that there will be no compromise between India and Britain on the road to liberty. I therefore pray that in the interests of India and in the larger interests of humanity he may be left to rule over the destinies of the British Empire till the hour of its final dissolution strikes.

"It is not because of any wishful thinking that I am convinced that Britain will be defeated and India will emerge independent out of this war. There is a common world-strategy against the Anglo-American Powers in this war, which did not exist in the last. **Thanks to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, Britain has nowhere any peace now, neither in the Atlantic, nor in the Mediterranean, nor in the Pacific.** The age of sea power is over, and in spite of all her naval supremacy, Britain now finds that the weapon of blockade, which brought about the final decision in the last war is now working

against her. Consequently, the food situation is just as serious in Britain today than it is on the European continent. The problem will become much more serious in future. The art of warfare has been so revolutionized that the old imperialist Powers are now at a disadvantage. Time, which in the last war was for Britain and her Allies, is now working against them; and last but not the least, the Anglo-American Powers have sustained a crushing defeat in Europe and in Asia, where the fate of the war has been conclusively decided. The Anglo-American Powers and their propagandists know very well how desperate their position is; and in order to divert the attention of the world from these dark facts they have staged a campaign in North-West Africa at the expense of the helpless and defeated French Empire. The object of this campaign is more propagandist than military; and simultaneously with the opening of this campaign, the output of propaganda has been purposely intensified. At one time the B.B.C. used to say that the United States of America would save the British Empire, then it went on to say that Soviet Russia, with the help of General Winter, would save the position. But when the Axis proved the falsity of this, the B B.C. has now come out with the assertion that the battle of Africa will turn the tide of the war. From these facts you have to come to the irresistible conclusion that the Anglo-Americans, despite all their propaganda bombast and lying, face inevitable and shattering defeat. They are doomed, and steadily they are moving towards total defeat.

"In the circumstances, we Indians should mobilise all our resources and put in all that we have in a last struggle against British imperialism. **The British, who have exploited India for more than 150 years, are now on their last legs; and in this dark hour of the British Empire is India's opportunity.** If we can strike hard and with determination, I have every confidence that we shall be able to destroy British power in India and attain our freedom. This can be our last fight for freedom. And, I hope and trust that when the history of this last fight is written it will be possible to say that Indians all over the world fought in this battle.

"In conclusion, I would like to warn my countrymen in Bengal that difficult days are in store for them, much blood will flow in that eastern province, but our countrymen there should not fear it. It is Bengal that opened the door to the British in India, and Bengal should now show them the way out.

"In the past, the British used India as a base and also used India's resources for attacking and conquering

Burma. Now that the British have been expelled from Burma, they want once again to use India, and particularly Bengal, for trying to reconquer that land. They are thereby deliberately dragging war to the soil of India. Bengal will accordingly have the experience of the horrors of total war before any other province. But, let Bengal be proud of it. The task of the vanguard is always a difficult one, but it is also a glorious one. I am confident that Bengal will rise to the occasion and fulfil her historic role.

"Once again the Sun of Freedom will rise in the East. Inquilab Zindabad. Azad Hind Zindabad !"

11. THE SITUATION TODAY

[*Broadcast from BERLIN on December 7, 1942*]

"I decided to make a short tour of Europe once again, in order to gather first-hand impressions of recent developments. During this tour, I have been in parts of Europe, which are called 'Occupied' territories. I have been in some of the new States like Slovakia that have come into existence after the outbreak of the present war, and I have been to countries like Italy, which are actively engaged in a grim struggle with Anglo-American imperialism. I am, therefore, in a position to form a correct and absolutely unbiased picture of the situation in this Continent. While making this study tour, I have of course been able to study the war situation in general and the Indian situation in particular. Finding myself in Berlin once again I am now accepting the hospitality of the short-wave Radio station here in order to speak to you on the situation as I see it, and on our tasks at home.

"It is not necessary for me to make a propaganda speech. Nor is it necessary for me to indulge in rambling utterances as men in the street are in the habit of doing. I shall speak to you as before, in a plain and matter of fact manner. People who are inclined to be impatient will naturally be disappointed that things have not moved fast enough during the last two months, and they may think that the situation remains fundamentally the same as it was in September and October last. I must tell you frankly, however, that I do not share this view. The war has reached a stage when time is working definitely for the Tripartite Powers and their Allies, and against our common enemy. Unlike the last war we find that in this war the economic blockade is working against Britain and not against Germany. Moreover, the British Empire has been steadily losing one part of its territories to its adversaries and

another part to its great ally. Consequently, the longer the war lasts the more shall we see with our own eyes the rapid disintegration and the ultimate liquidation of the once vast and powerful British Empire. Despite all the efforts of the high-priest of imperialism, Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Empire is going the way of all other empires of the past, and the only problem that remains to be solved is as to who will be the heirs and successors of this Empire.

"We have learnt from world history that it is an irony of fate that the staunchest champions of imperialism always manage to hasten its end. Similarly, we have seen in India that reactionary and oppressive rulers like Lord Curzon always do more to rouse and strengthen the forces of nationalism than the so-called 'friends of India' like Lord Ripon or Lord Irwin. We should indeed be grateful to Providence that at the most opportune moment He ordained that Mr. Winston Churchill should be at the helm of affairs in Britain. Mr. Churchill's premiership is for India the surest guarantee that there will be no compromise between the British Government and the Indian nationalists, and that India will achieve her goal of independence before long. Let us, therefore, pray that he may continue to rule over the destinies of the British Empire during the hour of its final and gruesome collapse.

"Meanwhile, let Liberals and Democrats like Sir Stafford Cripps, who in reality constitute a greater menace to India's independence, be thrown out because such Liberals and Democrats can only create confusion in the minds of Indian nationalists. Let imperialism based on tanks and machine-guns rule in India so that the Indian people may see for themselves what British imperialism really is, and in that knowledge refuse to have anything to do with Britain.

"However one might judge military events during the last two or three months, there can be no doubt that for India the political situation has, during this period, become more favourable. Mr. Churchill and his colleagues have, through their utterances and their behaviour, clarified the situation once and for all. Every Indian can now understand clearly what Britain's war aims are; what the Atlantic Charter and the 'New Order' of the so-called United Nations signify to the poor Indian people. Every Indian is, therefore, convinced more than ever before, that for him there is but one road to freedom and that is the destruction of the gigantic British Empire. If the enemies of British imperialism help India to achieve that objective, all the better for India, for her tasks will then be so much easier. But if not, the Indian people must gird up their loins and solemnly resolve to effect their own salvation through their own efforts, sufferings and

sacrifices. **Between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism no compromise is possible. One must perish for the other to live, and since Indian Nationalism shall live, British Imperialism must die.**

"Friends, we see that while in Britain rank imperialists have taken charge of public affairs and are managing things in their own way, in the United States of America, two voices can be heard. Large sections of the public are genuinely interested in Indian independence and openly criticize the American imperialists. On the other hand, the Government and those who hold the reins of power are pursuing a policy which can only be described as 'American Imperialism.' In fact, a definite school of thought has grown up in the United States of America, which loudly proclaims that the world belongs to the United States of America, and this theory of an American world-empire has already found an echo across the Atlantic, and several prominent and serious British thinkers are directly or indirectly giving their support to it. They are, however, of the opinion, that while the British should recognize and accept American supremacy in world affairs, America for her part should allow the British Empire to exist with all its dependencies and not to interfere in the internal affairs of that Empire.

"The partnership of President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill is going to endure, and the President knows that Churchill, his junior partner, will go on taking orders from him so long as the future of the British Empire and its continuance depends on American assistance. The Indians should have found out by now that in actual practice they can expect no help from the so-called United Nations in their struggle for liberty, and the latest developments in Anglo-American relations more than confirm the correctness of this view. The Indian people have, therefore, to fight their own battle and **any help from outside, should it be necessary, can only be forthcoming from the enemies of the so-called United Nations.**

"In this connection I should like to inform my countrymen all over the world that while Mr. Churchill and important circles in Britain are busy preparing plans for post-war reconstruction there is no place for a free India in their scheme of things. They hope to solve the Indian problem, not by applying the principles of the Atlantic Charter to India, but by adopting radical and drastic measures in order to crush Indian nationalism, so that in the post-war world there may be a number of States in the territories that have from time immemorial been known as India, and that all States will be equally under the heel of the British. I know that some of my countrymen formerly held the view that the British Government, in view of its precarious position, would recognize the freedom of India,

and thereby try to secure a useful ally in its fight with the Tripartite Powers. But I think that British strategy will now be clear to even a child of ten. The British Government, thanks to Mr. Winston Churchill and to the ruling classes in Britain, will not surrender to the Indian people. Whatever surrender has to be made it will be made only to the White House. And the sacrifices that Britain will have to make to the United States will be compensated by the plight of India, which will be much worse in future. In other words, while John Bull is bled white in order to satisfy Uncle Sam, India is to be bled white in order to keep John Bull alive. Consequently, so long as the British Empire exists the future of India can only mean the most painful enslavement.

" It should by now be apparent to my countrymen that the so-called United Nations are trying to develop something like a common world strategy. But, this is a poor imitation of the common world strategy of the Tripartite Powers. of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. In accordance with this idea of a common world strategy, of which the Anglo-Americans have talked so much the Anglo-American powers, in particular Britain, have been planning for a 'Second Front' which is to be set up in Europe as soon as possible. Unwillingly and under extreme pressure the Anglo-Americans made the experiment at several places in Europe, but in every case they met with familiar failure.

"As a last resort, in order to make some show of a 'Second Front', they made an attack on African territory, which neither belonged to nor was occupied by any of the Tripartite Powers, but which belonged to the French Empire and was purposely left in the hands of the French as a friendly gesture to a defeated enemy. This sudden attack on a helpless nation and undefended territory, preceded by intrigues with some of the local authorities, is now being trumpeted from London and New York as a great military feat. Neutral spectators judge this military feat on a par with the occupation of Madagascar and Reunion Island, which also belonged to the French Empire. It is meant to hide the defeats of Britain in other theatres of war, which are of real significance to the final result of the present struggle. It is meant to divert attention from the real issues and as a sop to the Soviet Government which has been making insistent demands for a 'Second Front' in Europe.

"Friends, let us now dispassionately sum up the situation as one sees it today. The Anglo-American powers have been driven out from the Far East and their own fleet now lies buried in the watery grave of the Pacific. From Europe, British power has been annihilated completely, and all talks of a 'Second Front' are childish dreams. All that the Anglo-Ameri-

can powers can now do is to seek battles and wars on the African continent at the expense of the helpless French Empire. But it is Europe and Asia, and not Africa, that will decide the fate of this war. And so far as Europe and Asia are concerned, the prospect for the Anglo-American powers and their Allies is as black as can be. The British authorities have raised a hue and cry by radio speeches over the landing of American troops on undefended French territory in North Africa. I wonder what sort of propaganda they would have indulged in if they had really won a battle against a superior adversary. The tactics of British propaganda prove very clearly that public morale in Britain has sunk so low that artificial stimulants in the form of such British propaganda are necessary in order to keep up the spirit of the British people. For a time the B.B.C. was telling the world that the U. S. A. would save Britain from defeat. Then it adopted the argument that Soviet Russia would save Britain from disaster. Now it is saying that Africa would help to turn the tide of war. Never for one single occasion have I heard a Britisher say during the last three years what a great British Prime Minister once declared in another historical speech, 'England will save herself by her own exertions.'

"No friends, those days are gone for the British Empire and are gone for ever, and we now see with our own eyes the rapid collapse of what was once a vast and powerful Empire. I may tell you quite frankly that reviewing the war situation as a whole, in the light of the latest events, I feel more optimistic than ever before. Nothing can stand between the Indian people and their goal of complete independence. We must, however, participate more actively and more vigorously in the common struggle, having a common goal. There is one common world strategy for the maintenance and perpetuation of the old order with all the injustice on which it was based, and the answer to it is a common world strategy for the destruction of the old order and the creation of a new one.

"Coming now to the situation in India I want, first, to congratulate you once again upon your achievements during the last few months. It came as a pleasant surprise to the world where owing to prolonged British propaganda, it was expected that the unarmed Indian people would be able to put up such a brave fight against such a powerful enemy, armed with tanks, machineguns and aeroplanes. The British authorities have been trying continuously to conceal the real facts of the Indian situation from the outside world, but in spite of all such sinister efforts the whole world has been informed regularly of what has been happening in India, and what is agreeable for the Indian people is, that

even in the camp of the so-called United Nations, there is a great deal of sympathy and support for India's demand for independence.

"Friends, I have already stressed that we are now engaged in a common struggle against a common foe. In this struggle India and the countries of the Near East have to play a more active part in future. It is for you, who have been enslaved, that the British Empire has to be overthrown, and your responsibility is, therefore, truly great. And the responsibility of the Indian people is the greatest of all. India is the corner stone of the British Empire. In fact, it is India that has made that Empire, and it is now the task of India to crush that Empire and to help in the liberation of humanity.

"There is no doubt that during the course of the national struggle the Indian people have suffered much. But they must be prepared to suffer even more. The path of liberty is never strewn with roses. Suffering is still in store for our people. More blood innocent blood will yet flow over the sacred soil of Hindustan before we can expect to be liberated. But the blood of martyrs is always the price of freedom, and hence we are prepared to pay that price. Our victory is assured beyond the shadow of doubt. Remember the slogan that I recommended to you the other day, 'Two years, and one hundred thousand lives' ! We must be prepared to continue our fight for two years. We must be prepared to voluntarily sacrifice one hundred thousand lives in the course of the struggle. If we do so freedom will be ours once and for all.

"Friends, some of my British listeners sitting in the offices of the B. B. C. have been upset that I have not yet redeemed my promise to return home and participate in the final phase of our struggle. I would like to advise them to have some patience. Meanwhile, I may assure them that my pledge, given not to the British Government but to my own people, will be redeemed in the fullness of time. As sure as day follows night, the present world war will bring about a complete dismemberment of the British Empire. As sure as day follows night, India will emerge from the struggle as an independent state. And as sure as day follows night, I will live to participate in the final struggle for our liberty, not from abroad, but at home side by side with the comrades who have been bravely carrying on the fight, while I have been away on duty.

"Inquilab Zindabad. Azad Hind Zindabad."

12. BRITAIN IS DOOMED

[*Broadcast over BERLIN RADIO on January 1, 1943*]

"It is lucky that military developments during the last year have facilitated our struggle for freedom. Allied attempts to open their much talked of 'Second Front' in Europe has failed miserably. The Axis forces have the upper hand in North Africa. The gallant Japanese have delivered fatal blows to the Anglo-Americans in the Far East, and the British Empire is fast disintegrating. The Japanese maintain their superiority in the S. W. Pacific and on the Indian front. In short, **British and American influence has completely been eliminated from the East as well as the West. The war has now entered its final phase. The Axis Powers are invincible and time is working in their favour.**

"In the last world war the Allies had command over the major part of the Continent, but today, they have been ousted from Europe. France was the main theatre of the last war, while she is out of the game today. Russia was then on the offensive. She is now on the defensive. German forces have penetrated into the very heart of the Soviet Union. Both Britain and America had complete mastery of the seas during the last war, whereas today, their combined land, air and naval forces are no match for those of the Axis. The last war was confined to Europe and the Middle East, while the flames of the present have spread almost all over the world, thanks to Axis domination of the air, land and sea. The Mediterranean was under British control during the last war, but today, the condition of Britain there is very precarious. The Allies blockaded Germany during the last war, now it is the other way about. Germany has blockaded Britain.

"The Axis Powers have unlimited resources, manpower and vast stores of food grains at their disposal. The condition of the Allies is going from bad to worse every day, and shortage of shipping has become a serious problem for Allied statesmen. **The active participation of Japan in this war guarantees Axis victory.** Britain had long been busy fortifying the N. W. F. P. She began fortifying Eastern India in 1941. Singapore, which the British had been fortifying for the last 20 years, was occupied by the Japanese in seven days. Taking all these facts into consideration, **we can safely say that the British are doomed.**

"Indians should now come into the field and play their part in the crusade against the Anglo-Americans. They should shake off the British yoke. After the defeat of the British, Indians will have their own independent Government.

Indians and Indian nationals abroad ! I know that you have full confidence in me. The consequences of this war are plain, **the British Empire will inevitably disappear and India will be a free country. Indians should, therefore, extend their wholehearted co-operation to the Axis Powers and fight side by side with them.** Those who refuse to take part in the Indian war of independence are traitors. Indian nationals in foreign countries have also a role in the present struggle. We should carry on our struggle in spite of British tyranny and oppression. Jails and shootings should not dishearten us. Every Indian should be determined to face hardships. Sacrifice and action will help you to attain your long-cherished goal—Freedom."

13. INDIA'S DAY OF INDEPENDENCE

(Broadcast from BERLIN on January 26, 1943)

"On this day, January 26, Indians in every part of the world assemble to observe their Independence Day. On this day they gather together under their national flag for the purpose of reaffirming their undying faith in independence, and their unshakable determination to carry on the national struggle till victory is achieved. On this day in India, the tri-colour flag is hoisted in every home, processions are taken out everywhere and meetings and demonstrations are held all over the country, where the 'Independence Manifesto is' read and solemnly adopted. Not always are the Indian people allowed to perform this national ceremony without let or hindrance. Again and again they are obliged to act in defiance of police prohibition and in direct opposition to the armed forces of the British Crown. Thus in 1931, just 12 years ago, while leading a peaceful procession on Independence Day as Mayor of India's largest city, Calcutta, I and my fellow processionists were attacked and brutally assaulted by British mounted police till permanent marks of injury were left on our persons. But our lot was nevertheless better than that of those who had to face the bayonet and rifle-shot.

"Today my thoughts naturally go out to our people at home, who have to observe Independence Day in defiance of tear gas and police batons, bayonets and machineguns. So wonderful is the Atlantic Charter, for which the Allied powers are fighting, that in India all public meetings and demonstrations have been permanently prohibited, and a reign of terror has been let loose over the whole land, simply because the Indian National Congress had the audacity to demand freedom and democracy for the Indian people. To offer some

kind of moral justification for British domination and exploitation of India, British propagandists have depicted it as a land where there is no unity, where the people are eternally fighting among themselves, and where the strong hand of Britain is necessary to maintain order and ensure progress. But these presumptuous Britishers conveniently forget that long before their forefathers knew anything about administration or national unity—in fact, long before the Romans came to Britain to teach culture and civilization to the uncivilized Britons—India had not only an advanced culture and civilization but a modern Empire founded by Chandragupta extending from Cape Comorin in the South to Afghanistan in the north—an empire that was geographically larger than the India of today. And, India is a country where the past has not been forgotten as in Babylon, Egypt or Greeee, but where history and tradition live in our blood and in the marrow of our bones.

"It is because of this national self-consciousness that neither political domination nor economic impoverishment have been able to kill our soul. Organized British rule in India dates from the year 1858—that is, after the failure of the great revolution of 1857. If prior to this period India could live and prosper for thousands of years without the help of Britain, she can do the same in future, when she is free once again.

"After the revolution of 1857, the British realized that they could not hold India long by sheer brute force. They, therefore, proceeded to disarm the country. Along with disarmament, the newly-established British Government, now controlled directly from London, commenced its policy of 'divide and rule'. This policy of 'divide and rule' has been the fundamental basis of British rule from 1858 till today. For nearly 40 years the policy was to keep India divided by keeping three-fourths of the people directly under British control and the remaining one-fourth under the Indian Princes. Simultaneously, the British Government showed a great deal of partiality for the big landlords in British India. By the beginning of the present century, the British realized, however, that they could no longer dominate India by simply playing the Princes and the big landlords against the people. Then they discovered the Muslim problem in the year 1906, when Lord Minto was Viceroy. Prior to this there was was no such problem in India. In the great revolution of 1857, Hindus and Muslims had fought side by side against the British, and it was under the flag of Bahadur Shah, a Muslim, that India's first war of Independence had been fought.

" During the last World War, when the British found that further political concessions would have to be made to the Indian people, they realized that it was not enough to try and

divide the Muslims from the rest of the population, and they then set about trying to divide the Hindus themselves. In this way they discovered the caste problem in 1918, and suddenly became the champions and the liberators of the so-called 'Depressed Classes.' Till the year 1937, Britain had hoped to keep India divided by posing as champions of the Princes, the Muslims and the so-called 'Depressed Classes'. In the General Election held under the new Constitution of 1935, they found, however, to their great surprise that all their tricks and bluffs had failed, and that a strong nationalist feeling permeated the whole nation and every section of it. Consequently, British policy has now fallen back on its last hope. If the Indian people cannot be divided, then the country—India—has to be split up, geographically and politically. This is the plan called 'Pakistan' which emanated from the fertile brain of a Britisher.

"Though the vast majority of the Indian Muslims want a free and independent India, though the President of the Indian National Congress today is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim, and though only a minority of the Indian Muslims support the idea of 'Pakistan', British propaganda throughout the world gives the impression that the Indian Muslims are not behind the national struggle for liberty and want India to be divided up. The British themselves know that what they propagate is quite false, but they nevertheless hope that by repeating a falsehood again and again, they will be able to make the world believe it.

"I have taken so much of your time in analyzing British policy in India, because I want to tell you that though we have in British imperialism a cunning and diabolical enemy, we know our enemy inside out and there is no possibility of our being deceived again in future. There is no possibility of a compromise between India and Britain. We have nothing in common, and our national interests are diametrically opposed. The Tripartite Powers are today at war with British imperialism, and India, too, is engaged in a struggle with her eternal foe, British imperialism.

"British imperialism and Indian nationalism cannot exist simultaneously. The one must die if the other has to live, and since Indian nationalism will live, British imperialism must die. The struggle which is now going on in India is in reality a continuation of the great revolution of 1857. In the last four decades of the 19th Century, the Indian movement expressed itself in agitation in the Press and on the platform. This movement was crystallized into one organization, when the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in 1885. The beginning of this century saw a new awakening in India, and

along with it new methods of struggle were devised. Thus, during the first two decades we see the economic boycott of British goods on the one side and revolutionary terrorism on the other. The Indian revolutionaries made a desperate attempt to overthrow British rule with the help of arms during the last war—at a time when Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were fighting our enemy. But they, the Indian revolutionaries, were unfortunately crushed.

" After the war India needed a new weapon of struggle, and at this psychological moment Mahatma Gandhi came forward with his method of *Satyagraha* or passive resistance. During the last 22 years, the Congress, under the Mahatma's leadership, has built up a powerful organization all over the country, including the States of the Princes. It has awakened political life in the remotest village and among all sections of the people. Most important of all is the fact that the masses of India have learnt how to strike at a powerful enemy even without arms, and the Congress, under Mahatmaji's leadership, has demonstrated that it is possible to paralyse the administration with the weapons of passive resistance. The younger generation in India has, however, learnt from the experience of the last 20 years that, while passive resistance can hold up or paralyze a foreign administration, it cannot overthrow or expel it without the use of physical force. Impelled by this experience, the people today are spontaneously passing on from passive resistance to active fighting, and that is why you read and hear today of the unarmed Indian people destroying railway, telegraph and telephone communications; setting fire to police stations, post offices and Government buildings; and using force in many other ways in order to overthrow the British yoke.

"I have participated in all the campaigns from 1921 to 1941. During this period I have been in British custody eleven times, and on most occasions without any trial in a court of law. From this experience, as well as from the information that I possess regarding the present campaign in India, I can assert without any exaggeration that it is impossible for the British Government to suppress the movement this time. There are internal and external causes which account for my optimism. Among internal cause I may say that the campaign is spread all over India, that the people of the Indian States are also participating in this all-India fight, and that the movement has spontaneously developed from passive resistance to active fighting. Among the external causes, I may say that India is not fighting alone this time. **The Tripartite Powers and their Allies are also our allies in a common struggle against a common foe,** and even the masses in India surely realize that India has now a glorious opportunity

to achieve her liberty, which is indeed rare in history, and what is the most important of all is that there is a widespread conviction in India that this war will end only with the defeat and break-up of the British Empire.

"We in India had always regretted that during the last war the then leaders had not utilized the war situation to our advantage. **It was, therefore, necessary for me to leave India this time in order to establish direct personal contact with the enemies of British imperialism, and thereby link up India's fight for freedom with the struggle of the Tripartite Powers against our old enemy, Britain. Though the Indian people must rely primarily on themselves for achieving their liberty, anything that weakens Britain automatically helps them, and it would be indeed foolish of them not to take the fullest advantage of such assistance which fate and history has provided for them.**

"Regarding my activities abroad, I may say that what I have been doing outside India has the fullest support of the vast majority of my countrymen. As a matter of fact, there is now full accord between Indians fighting at home and those working abroad for the common goal of India's emancipation. I should not, however, give the impression that we are fully content with what has already been achieved at home. We are content only in so far as the movement is now a dynamic one and has developed into an active resistance, and that it is too powerful to be crushed by the armed forces of the Anglo-American Powers.

"The present phase of the campaign has a two-fold object—to obstruct the administration of India and to destroy Britain's war production in that country. But, we must sooner or later pass on to the last phase of the struggle, namely, an armed revolution for destroying British Imperialism in India.

"It is my personal conviction that the present year, 1943, will be the year of decision, and that during this year India must do the maximum that is possible for our common victory. The Allied Powers probably realize the significance of this year, and that is why since New Year's Day they have been carrying on a terrific propaganda campaign. If one were to read or hear what London or New York now says, one would think that the Anglo-Americans have already won the war. The Anglo-Americans have also been conducting a blood-curdling atrocity propaganda against the Tripartite Powers, just as they did against Germany in the last war. But that, too, is too transparent to deceive anybody for a second time. That the Anglo-Americans should be forced to adopt such methods in order to bolster up their own morale shows clearly what their position really is.

"Anybody who takes a dispassionate and objective view of the entire war situation can come to only one conclusion, namely, that this war will end with the victory of the Tripartite Powers.

"We, the people of India, are convinced that we shall be freed before long, we have right to exist, not only for ourselves, but for the sake of humanity, for India represents one-fifth of the human race. A free India will be able to contribute in a large measure to the culture and civilization of the world. A free India will bring about the end of British Imperialism, which has been responsible for the enslavement, impoverishment and exploitation of large sections of the human race. A free India will mean the end of all those wars which have taken place in the past in Europe and elsewhere in the attempt to dominate India. A free India will mean that the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East will breathe freely, for there will be no power to threaten their freedom and security any longer. And, last but not least, a free India will be responsible for initiating a revolutionary change in the present economic order of the world.

"I have no doubt that, with the single exception of Great Britain, a free India will be a blessing to the whole world and an advantage to every other nation desiring to have cultural and economic relations with her. The industrialization of a vast country like India, inhabited by 388 millions of human beings, will have colossal and far-reaching repercussions throughout the modern industrial world. We, who are engaged in the fight for India's liberation, know exactly what we shall do in a free India. We are, therefore, preparing plans for national reconstruction for building up a new India. The task of reconstruction in free India is one which will interest not only the people of India but the entire civilized world as well.

"In conclusion, I thank from the bottom of my heart in the name of my country, all those generous men and women in different parts of the world who have demonstrated their sympathy for India's struggle for freedom. On our part, I assure them that we shall fight to the last till our enemy is overthrown and victory is achieved. In this struggle, which is for India a life and death struggle— a struggle for the vindication of justice and truth—there will be but one end, our victory and our freedom."

Editor's Note:—This speech was originally delivered in German; but immediately afterwards Subhas Babu broadcast this speech in English. Berlin Radio relayed the celebrations from Berlin and the commentator first read out the Independence Day pledge of the Indian National Congress and then described the scene. He said: "We are present at a big

meeting in Berlin on the occasion of the Independence Day of India. Many hundreds of guests have assembled to hear an address by Subhas Chandra Bose. There are a great many Indians here, and representatives of many other nations of Europe, all invited by the Central Committee of Independent India. There are many Germans, Italians, Japanese, and many high officials of the Foreign Office, officers of the *Wehrmacht* and members of the National Socialist Party. Among the guests are the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the Prime Minister of Iraq, Rashid Ali el Gilani—a very colourful and eminent gathering. The Hall is decorated with beautiful flower arrangements—red tulips and white lilacs. Now Subhas Chandra Bose—the great leader of Independent India, gets up and walks towards the speaker's chair. He is dressed in black *sherwani*. There is a thunderous applause and cheering as he comes up. Subhas Bose is speaking in German. Of course, many of you will not understand, so we have made arrangements to let you hear his address in English. Subhas Chandra Bose has kindly agreed to speak to you in English. Now here is Subhas Bose speaking to you." Then followed the speech which has been printed here.

14. FREEDOM IS AT HAND

[*Broadcast from BERLIN on March 1, 1943*]

"Friends, when I took the unusual step of defying the British Government and departed from India, my principal objectives were two-fold. Firstly, to find out for myself the truth as to what is happening in the world, and, secondly, to see if India has any allies in her fight for freedom. During the time that I have been away from home I have seen things with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. I have followed closely the propaganda war conducted by both sides in this world war. I am, therefore, able to form an impartial and objective opinion as to what is really happening now and what is going to happen in the future. After this long, laborious and critical study of world affairs, there is not the slightest possibility of being misled or misguided in my judgment. **I should also like to add that whatever I have done since leaving home or whatever I may do in future, has been and will be done with the sole purpose of bringing about the speedy emancipation of my country and I shall never do anything which will not meet with the approval of nationalist circles in India. Further, I may say that if the cunning, unscrupulous and resourceful British Government has failed to allure or to corrupt me, no power on earth will ever be able**

to do so. Whatever may happen to me, my one and only duty will be to India and to India alone.

"Since coming to Europe I have seen much with my own eyes and I can, therefore, compare the actual conditions here with the lies that are propagated from day to day by the B.B.C. that is the 'Bluff and Bluster Corporation' of London. Believe me when I say that Britain is going to lose the war and as a sequel to her crushing defeat the British Empire will be completely dismembered. Whether we actively assist Britain or whether we remain strictly neutral, nothing can alter by a hair's breadth the ultimate issue of this titanic struggle. In such a situation it is not only wise and prudent but imperatively necessary for India to play a dynamic role. India must, by her own efforts and her sacrifices, contribute materially to the break-up of the British Empire so that out of the ashes of that empire may emerge a triumphant India which will be the creation of the Indian people.

"Friends, **it will be an act of political suicide to remain inactive or neutral in this crisis.** If we do so we shall either remain enslaved in spite of the dismemberment of the British Empire or we shall receive freedom as a gift from the victorious Tripartite Powers. We want neither. The Indian people must, therefore, fight for and win their liberty. But, in this fight some help from abroad will be necessary. **I have studied very carefully this struggle for liberty that has gone on all over the world during the last 200 years, but I have not as yet discovered one single instance where freedom was won without outside help of some sort. Where the enemy is a powerful world-empire, the need for outside help is even greater and where that powerful world-empire, namely, Britain, is buttressed by a combination of several other Powers it would be the height of folly not to accept any assistance that may be offered to us.** When Britain has been pouring into India war material and soldiers from America, China, Africa and the rest of the British Empire, it does not lie in the mouth of a Britisher to complain if we take help from any other quarter. It will, of course, be for India to decide what help she needs, and the less she needs it, the better it will be for her. **We can expect help or assistance only from those who are our friends and allies. In the present case those who are trying to overthrow the British Empire are helping our liberation and are, therefore, our friends and allies, while all those who are trying to save that empire are only attempting to perpetuate our slavery.** But apart from this theoretical proposition, **my personal experience as well as my interviews with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have convinced me that in this struggle against**

British Imperialism, the Tripartite Powers are our best friends and allies outside India.

Friends, I know that my friends like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati may hesitate to believe in the sincerity of the Tripartite Powers. **But I would like to remind them that these Powers have in their own interest resolved to fight British Imperialism to a finish and they will undoubtedly do so. And, the destruction of British power will inevitably help India in throwing off the British yoke.** Moreover, the whole world, including the Tripartite Powers, would stand to gain if India could liberate herself and the only country to regret India's emancipation would be Britain. **In this fateful hour in India's history, it would be a grievous mistake to be carried away by ideological considerations alone. The internal politics of Germany or Italy or Japan do not concern us.** They are the concern of the people of those countries. **But, even a child should understand that whatever the internal politics of the Tripartite Powers may be, their aim in the international sphere is the destruction of the British Empire which is India's one and only enemy.** Do we not see with our own eyes how, regardless of ideological considerations, the British Empire is now co-operating with Soviet Russia? It is high time that my friends and colleagues at home learnt to differentiate between the internal and the external policy of free India. **The internal policy of free India is and should be the concern of the Indian people themselves, while the external policy should be one of collaboration with the enemies of Britain. While standing for full collaboration with the Tripartite Powers in the external sphere, I stand for absolute self-determination for [illegible] own national affairs [illegible] and I [illegible] tolerate any interference in the internal affairs of [illegible] [illegible] mistake of concluding that [illegible] operation [illegible] Tripartite Powers means acceptance [illegible] their don[illegible] or even of their ideology in our internal affairs.**

"Friends, my task today is to lead the [illegible] struggle for India's emancipation. But when that t[illegible] fulfilled and India is liberated, it will then be my duty [illegible] to my countrymen and leave it to them to de[illegible] form of government they would like to have. A[illegible] Mahatma Gandhi [illegible] with him in [illegible] I was taken [illegible] in all on him [illegible] led in m[illegible] achieve India's libe[illegible] British yoke. [illegible] matter of profound joy and [illegible] us taqt, backed by the full diplomatic supp[illegible] tite

Powers, our countrymen in the Far East are now assembling in a conference at Bangkok in order to devise ways and means for effecting the speedy emancipation of our motherland. As I have so often said, the last phase of our national struggle began with the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India. We shall soon reach a stage when we shall have to take up arms if the Anglo-American forces do not voluntarily vacate India. Friends, prepare for that auspicious day and organise simultaneously for the final battle and to resist the scorched-earth policy by which the British want to wantonly destroy and ruin our country before they fly from India.

"The British Empire, today, is in such a tottering condition that I feel convinced that with the right leadership and the necessary assistance, it is possible for the Indian people to achieve their own salvation. This salvation will not be long in coming. In the course of the present war India will win her freedom and I repeat once again that when the hour strikes I shall be at your side ready to participate in the final struggle. The Power that could not prevent my getting out of India will not be able to prevent my getting in. Meanwhile, friends, please send a word of cheer to our comrades in prison. Let them patiently bide their time for when they learn of the fighting they will be the first to hail it, and we shall then bring them the arms and equipment which will enable them to be soldiers in India's last war of independence.

"Countrymen and friends! Before I proceed any further, I want to greet you once again on my behalf and on behalf of all those who are working with me. We would like to tell you first of all that India's brave and courageous fight for liberty has produced a profound impression all over the world. In fact, people did not at first believe the report of British terror and brutality in India, and leaders in England were compelled to make speeches in order to justify large-scale shootings on unarmed men and women in our country. From these speeches the outside world was convinced that India was in a state of rebellion and that the reports emanating from India were quite correct and by no means exaggerated. Friends, I now want to assure you that the news of the internal happenings in India are regularly travelling to all quarters of the globe. The British cannot any longer isolate India from the rest of the world. I have noticed that every day that passes brings to the Indian people more and more sympathy from even the most unexpected quarters. All over the world India is today on the front page of the daily Press; and from the enemies of British Imperialism India can expect not only sympathy but any help that she may need in her struggle for liberty. It is for the Indian people to

decide if they need any help from abroad and if so to what extent. Friends, I must also tell you that your countrymen in Europe, America and the Far East fully realize that **India has a golden opportunity for overthrowing the British yoke.** On the occasion of Independence Day, Indians in Germany expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle now going on at home, and they are doing their very best to help and support that struggle. What is more important, many of them have already decided to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

"So far as India is concerned, the next turning point will come soon, and when that hour arrives and the last phase of the national struggle begins, India will have to strike her final blow. This last blow, which India will then have to deliver, will be the death blow to the British Empire and it will, therefore, be India's privilege to end that satanic empire. Friends, from what I have myself seen and experienced during my stay abroad, I am convinced more than ever before that the British Empire will be overthrown and broken up, and out of the ashes of that empire will emerge a free India. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen to give up fear, doubt and hesitation and come forward to help the national struggle to the best of their ability. Disaster will befall those who still fight with the British Government. It is absolutely clear that time is now working against Britain and her Allies and is working for India. We must, therefore, continue the fight at any cost and by all means. We must definitely make up our minds to continue the fight for at least two years and to sacrifice at least 100,000 lives in the course of the struggle. Long before this period of two years comes to an end India will certainly be free. Our slogan should therefore be: 'we shall fight for two years and we shall sacrifice 100,000 lives for the freedom of our country. If you can do that and I can do that, I guarantee you success and liberty.

"Let me remind you once again that the two-fold object of the non-violent guerilla warfare that you are now carrying on should be; firstly, to paralyse the civil administration in India; and, secondly, to destroy war production in India. I should also like to tell you that the time has come to intensify our propaganda within the Indian Army. This could be done best by sending our partymen in large numbers into the ranks of the Indian Army. In the last phase of the national struggle the Indian Army will have to play an important role.

"Friends, you must have realized by now that in future Bengal will have to play a most important role in this fight for freedom. Let all my sisters and brothers in Bengal prepare for this contingency. I must again call upon my sisters and

brothers in Ceylon to come forward and march shoulder to shoulder with us for winning our common liberty. This is a golden opportunity not only for India but for Ceylon as well. When India has been waging a gigantic fight for overthrowing the British Imperialism the task of Ceylon has become very much easier than it would otherwise have been. As for India, so also for Ceylon, the watch-word should be 'Now or Never.' Ceylon can hope to be free only when she stands and fights with India.

"Friends, do not be carried away for one moment by the pretensions and propaganda carried on by Anglo-American agencies. Look at the map of the world yourselves and you will understand the position today. Except in Africa, the Allies have not made any success anywhere in the world worth the name; and even in Africa, the Allies have not achieved what they promised to the whole world. General Eisenhower is still marking time and sometimes retreating in North Africa. To hide the shame of defeat, they have been saying that the most important theatre of war is Russia and not Africa. In Europe, British power and influence simply does not exist. In Russia, the real position will be apparent to anybody who looks at the respective positions of the two armies. In the Far East, the Anglo-Americans have received a shattering defeat and Japanese forces now stand on the eastern frontiers of India. The repeated declarations of the Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo, have informed the world and the Indian people as to what the Japanese policy in Asia is, and what Japanese policy towards India really is. The final decision of this war will be not in Africa but in Europe and in Asia; and one can see for himself where the Anglo-American forces stand today in Europe and in Asia. They are in a desperate position and any amount of loud and boastful propaganda cannot save them.

"Friends, in conclusion, I call upon you to exert yourself to the utmost in this most critical hour in our history. Victory is assured. Time is working for us. Our Allies abroad are all ready to help us. What more can we desire ? We have only to continue the struggle, come what may, and no matter what the sacrifice may be. Be confident that India is going to be free and that before long.

"Down with British Imperialism ! Long Live Free India ! Long Live Revolution !"

1. FIRST SPEECH FROM TOKYO

[*Broadcast on June 21, 1943*]

"Countrymen and friends! In April last, you heard my voice over another radio in another part of the world. Now I am in Tokyo, and I am accepting the hospitality of the broadcasting station here in order to speak to you again. Since I spoke to you last no important change has taken place in the general war situation. In the western theatre, the Anglo-American forces have scored a success, and the fighting in North Africa has come to an end. The Anglo-Americans have followed this up by occupying a few small and barren islands in the Mediterranean. As is customary with Anglo-American propagandists, they had been rending the skies with their boasting and bragging, subsequent to this small military success which they achieved. Prior to this, they have been boasting about the Anglo-American landings in North Africa and claiming that an African victory would finally determine the result of the war. Now that Allied victory has been achieved in North Africa they are still as far from winning the war as they were at the end of 1940. These propaganda tactics make it clear that they badly need some success however insignificant—to bolster up the sinking morale of their people. If one were to listen to the broadcasts from England and America after the campaign in Tunisia, as I have been doing, one would think that the Anglo-American forces have already won the war. This type of propaganda had brought good results during the last world war, when radio broadcasting was virtually unknown. That is why the Anglo-Americans have been indulging in it again. They are however blissfully oblivious of the fact that the world is not as unsophisticated today as it was in 1915 and 1916, and that broadcasting has now enabled people in every corner of the globe to listen to both versions of the story on every point. Moreover, the Indian public, having been repeatedly deceived by cunning and lying British propaganda, has now become extremely cautious, and is not likely to be influenced at all by one-sided enemy propaganda. I have, therefore, no doubt in my mind that so far as my countrymen are concerned, they will never be deceived by what London or New York or Boston might say.

"After the Anglo-American occupation of some small and barren islands in the Mediterranean like Pantelleria and Lampedusa, enemy propagandists have given the whole world the impression that a landing on and occupation of the European continent is now a question of a few days.

When I was in Paris, soon after the first Anglo-American landing in French North Africa, I heard from many Parisians that Anglo-American radio stations had given them the impression that Anglo-American troops would be in Paris in a fortnight's time. Those Frenchmen who were elated over this news naturally suffered a severe disappointment when the Anglo-Americans did not appear in France again after the shameful debacle at Dieppe. I am afraid that all those people who are still hoping for the miracle of an Anglo-American victory have painful disappointment in store for them. These optimists will soon realise that the occupation of the European continent is still as remote as the occupation of the moon.

"Friends, you will certainly remember that when the campaign in Africa was going on, I repeatedly told you that for the ultimite outcome of the war, the African campaign will not play an important role, though it has been fully utilized by the Anglo-Americans for propagandist purposes. You will now realize that what I said then was no exaggeration. The campaign in North Africa has ended, but we have not come any nearer to the end of the war, than when fighting was going on in the Cyrenaica or Tripolitania or Tunisia. The fact is, as I have told you more than once, that the fate of the war depends on the situation in Europe, in Asia and on the high seas. And so far as India is concerned, what is the most important of all is the situation nearer India. No amount of Anglo-American propaganda can either ignore or hide the fact that, after achieving brilliant victories in Hong Kong, in the Philippines, in the East Indies, in Malaya and Singapore, and in Burma, the forces of the Imperial Japanese Army now stand on the frontiers of India.

"During the whole history of British rule in India, it has never struck one single British general that at some time in the future some enemy of Britain may appear on the Eastern frontier of India. The whole attention of Britain's military strategists had, therefore, been concentrated on the north-western frontier of India. Hence, with the naval fortress of Singapore in their possession, our rulers thought that India was safe and secure in their hands. But the phenomenal advance of the Japanese brought victory and opened the eyes of the world to the worthlessness of British strategy. Since then General Wavell has been making feverish attempts to put up fortifications on the eastern frontier of India. But what the Indian people today are asking is this: 'If it took 20 years to build Singapore, and only one week to lose it, how long will it take the ever-retreating British Commander-in-Chief or his successor to withdraw from his eastern fortifications?'

"You have seen that during the course of the present war Anglo-American Powers have time and again made themselves the laughing stock of the world by beginning a military campaign to the accompaniment of boastful propaganda and extravagant claims. They are now doing this in connection with their contemplated occupation of the European continent. They did it some months ago when General Wavell started operations on the Indo-Burma frontier and marched into Burma. At that time, it was advertised all over the world that the campaign for the reconquest of Burma had begun. But what face could the British Commander-in-Chief show when his troops had to run back to India, leaving all their bag and baggage behind as soon as the powerful Japanese Army began its counter-offensive? General Wavell has subsequently invented all kinds of excuses in order to cover his defeat. Even the British Prime Minister, during his recent visit to America, was at pains to explain away the ignominious failure of his Commander-in-Chief to retake Burma. But what one cannot understand is why the Anglo-American Powers repeatedly indulged in premature bragging. In contrast to them, the Axis Powers talk less, and instead of beginning a military campaign with a bumptious propaganda campaign they leave actual events to speak for themselves. When the German forces occupied the Channel Islands, which lie between the French and the English coasts, in 1940, German propaganda never claimed that through the occupation of these islands, the German Army had come nearer to an invasion of England. If, as Anglo-American propaganda is now trying to make out, the occupation of Pantelleria has made landings on and the occupation of Sicily a reasonable certainty, why could not the Anglo-American forces make that attempt from the island fortress of Malta, which is as near to Sicily as Pantelleria and has been always in their possession? No, friends, the fact is that the Anglo-American Powers are in such a hopeless situation that they have somehow to bolster up the sinking morale of their people, and in order to do that, they feel constrained to resort to premature boasting again and again. Such tactics may be a necessity for their propaganda, but that is no reason why the world, which is now wide awake, should be duped by them. For India, what is of primary importance is not what is happening in Tunisia and Timbuctoo or in Lampedusa and Alaska, but what is happening inside India and across her frontier.

"What is of primary importance to us is that the much-advertised reconquest of Burma has ended in shameful retreat, that the victorious Japanese army is standing on our eastern frontier, that the Government of Japan, through its worthy

Prime Minister, General Tojo, has repeatedly declared its fullest support to Indian independence and its firm resolve to see Anglo-American power and influenee expelled from India. And, lastly, that Japan's Prime Minister has offered active assistance, should the Indian revolutionaries need it, in their struggle for complete national independence. What is also of direct importance to India is the policy of British Imperialism towards our country.

"You know as well as I do that when this war broke out some of our friends thought that since the British Government would soon find itself in serious difficulties, it would feel constrained to sue for peace with the party that controlled the cabinets in eight out of 11 provinces in British India. According to these friends all that the Congress had to do was to hold itself in patience till the British Government was compelled to make the first advance. A year rolled by but there was no evidence of this change of heart on the British side. Then those friends considered it necessary to exert mild pressure on the British Government in order to bring about a compromise. Various steps were taken in this behalf, but no tangible results followed. Even the fall of Singapore, 'the greatest disaster in British military history' according to Mr. Winston Churchill, and the loss of Burma did not bring about any appreciable change. British Imperialism remained inexorable. Men may come and men may go, empiress may come and empires may go, but British Imperialism goes on for ever. That is what our rulers continued to think. You may call this lack of statesmanship or political bankruptcy or mid-summer madness. But, this midsummer madness has its own explanation. **The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people, no matter to which political party they belong, have grown fat on the spoils, the wealth and the resources of India. To them, the empire today means India. They are now fighting in order to preserve that empire. If they are to win the war at the cost of recognising India's independence, it will amount to winning the war by losing the empire. Consequently, no matter what fate overtakes Britain during the course of this war, the average Englishman will endeavour to the very last to hold on to his empire, that is to hold on to India.** Therefore, if I were to speak frankly, I should say that it is not midsummer madness that British politicians refuse to recognise India's independence, though they are in a terrible plight. **It is midsummer madness that we should expect the Englishman to voluntarily give up his empire, simply because he has fallen on evil days.** There is another factor that accounts for the unrelenting policy of British imperialists. As the

Foreign Minister of Germany said the other day in his inimitable style, the British Empire has been losing one part of its territory to its enemies, and another part of it to its friends during the course of the present war. Moreover, in his frantic efforts to maintain his empire, John Bull is now bleeding himself white. The only hope of even partially making up for this colossal loss is to exploit India more ruthlessly when the war is over. Therefore, according to imperialistic logic, the worse England's position becomes during this war, the more difficult will it be to retain a firm grip over India. **British Imperialism will ultimately break, but it will never bend.** That is how empires have always behaved in the history of mankind. **Consequently, no Indian should ever cherish the illusion that one day England will be induced to recognise India's independence.**

"**But that is not to say that British politicians will never again attempt a compromise with India. Another attempt at a compromise will be made any time, whether under the pressure of a worsening military situation, or in order to placate the liberal elements in England and America.** Personally, I expect another such attempt sometime this year. But what I want to point out more emphatically is that **in attempting a compromise, British politicians will never recognise India's independence but will only try to bluff the Indian people, and through protracted negotiations will only try to sidetrack the issue of independence and thereby undermine the national will, as they did between December 1941 and July 1942.** The negotiations carried on by Sir Stafford Cripps during the last year did not harm the British Government in any way. It only interrupted our struggle for freedom. Therefore, we should once for all set our face against any compromise with British imperialism. **Friends, independence admits of no compromise. Freedom has only one connotation, namely, that the British and their Allies must quit India for good. And those who really want liberty must fight for it, and pay for it with their own blood.**

"Countrymen and friends, let us therefore carry on the fight for liberty inside India with all our strength and vigour. Let us continue the battle with resolute heart, and with unshakable faith, till one day under the combined attack of our friends and allies, and of ourselves, Anglo-American imperialism will be overthrown, the British Empire will be broken up, and out of its ashes a new India will once again emerge as an independent nation. **In this struggle there is no going back, there can be no faltering. We must march forward and forward, till victory is achieved and freedom won.** Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !"

2. A MESSAGE TO GERMANS

[*Broadcast from TOKYO on June 22, 1943*]

"Ladies and Gentlemen !

"I last addressed you in your own language on January 26, when the Indian Independence Day was celebrated in Berlin. Today, I am speaking to you from another corner of the world, namely, Tokyo. First of all, I should like to express me deep gratitude to the Reich Government for the hospitality extended to me during my stay in Germany. True I was not a stranger to Germany, but it was a new experience for me to visit that great country during the war. When in 1919, one year after the conclusion of the last World War, I was staying in Britain, I had to content myself with saccharine instead of sugar and margarine for butter. On the basis of this experience, I expected that foodstuffs for the civilian population would now be severely rationed in Germany. It was a pleasant surprise to me, however, that contrary to my expectations, the German people had sufficient quantities of all essential articles. As I travelled through Europe, I began to realize how utterly untrue was enemy propaganda which asserted that Germany had robbed other European countries of their food. On the contrary, I found that in the restaurants of Paris, Brussels, The Hague, or Prague, much better dishes could be obtained than in those of Berlin. I was, therefore, convinced that the European economic situation in general, and the food situation in particular. was as satisfactory as is possible anywhere during war time. I saw the great change which Europe had undergone since the last World War. In that war, the Allies succeeded in blockading Germany, now, however, it is the Axis Powers who are blockading Britain. This has been possible mostly because of the incessant blows dealt to the enemy's supply lines, particularly those directed against merchant shipping.

"When I was in Germany last time, I was able to note that the interest which Germans took in Indian affairs, particularly in the cultural, economic and political spheres, had increased tremendously. The formation of the German-Indian Society is an example of this development.

Another proof of Germany's interest in India is the creation of a Special Bureau at the Foreign Office, which devotes all its attention to Indian problems. There is a growing demand among the people of Germany for lectures and books on India. During my talks with the Fuehrer and other important personalities of new Germany, like Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, Reichleiter

S. S. Himmler, Reichleiter Baldur von Schirach and other gentlemen, I noted with great satisfaction how real their interest in India is and how deep is their sympathy with India's struggle for independence. This interest of the German nation in India is based on Indo-European traditions and, therefore, it has been existant for centuries. Goethe and Schopenhauer, Rueckert and Schlegel are only a few of the many scholars who brought Indians and Germans closer to each other in the cultural sphere. However, these scholars were attracted by India's ancient culture. But now, it is modern India, with her new problems—political, economic and cultural—in which the German people and their leaders are interested; it is India's struggle for freedom that comes in for so much sympathy and support from the Germans.

"Ever since the last World War, the Indian people have always had a great liking for Germany. It is not surprising seeing that Germany fought against our eternal enemy the British. The present war against our hereditary enemy has only deepened this feeling of sympathy a hundred-fold. **Every blow struck at Britain by the Axis Powers aids our struggle for freedom materially.** We are grateful for this help. Moreover, sympathetic understanding of our movement and the active support given to us have completely won our hearts.

"As one who has studied conditions in Europe personally, I can only smile when listening to Anglo-American bragging about a 'second front' in Europe. To those who knew the real situation in France, Dieppe came as no surprise. Should the Anglo-Americans attempt another landing, they will only meet with a second Dieppe, but this time on a much more formidable scale. I cannot understand why the Anglo-Americans should make such pompous announcements of their plans and programmes. After all, words alone, however cleverly formulated, have never won wars. I can only think that the Anglo-Americans are trying to bolster up the sinking morale of their people by Press and radio propaganda. General Wavell should have learnt from his own experience that even the most gigantic bluff cannot in any way contribute to the success of military operations. The famous British General started his offensive against Burma after weeks and months of propaganda, and when the Japanese Army began its counter-offensive with cool deliberation, the General, in spite of all his bragging, had to withdraw to India most ignominiously.

"Hardly had the Anglo-Americans completed the occupation of a few islands in the Mediterranean, than they started talking of the conquest of Europe. If the island fortress of Malta had not so far enabled the Anglo-Saxons to make a

landing on the continent, how then is Pantellaria going to be of use in starting the second front? When the German troops occupied the Channel Islands in 1940, people in Germany never spoke of an invasion of Britain. The smallest success is enough for the Anglo-Americans to launch a grand propaganda campaign. It is not denied that the enemy has scored a success in North Africa. But, even when the battle was going on in Cyrenaica, I repeatedly emphasized that the African campaign would not affect the final outcome of the war, and I still maintain that. The fate of the war will be decided in Europe, in Asia and on the high seas. The Anglo-Americans want to terrorise the German people, and for this purpose have for sometime past been carrying on air attacks on civilians and non-military targets. I have myself experienced some of these air raids when I was with you in Germany. I know very well how ridiculous it is to try to break the morale of the German nation by these terror-raids on women and children. Thanks to the splendid organization and to the enthusiasm which His Excellency the Fuehrer has instilled into the German nation, the civilians are so firmly united in one single, solid front that these raids can never have any effect. This 'Home Front' 'is in no way less strong than the battle-front. Every German, man, woman or child knows that this war must be won, whatever the cost. No terror-raid of the enemy will ever succeed in shaking the iron determination of the German nation, its unlimited confidence in the Fuehrer and its optimism.

"Two years ago, I left my country and travelled through the world, studying the situation everywhere on the spot. After this objective study of the world situation, it became my conviction—a 100 per cent conviction—that this war, however long it may last, can have only one result: the decisive victory of the Tripartite Powers and their Allies. I know what Anglo-American propaganda tries to tell the world. If words could win wars, the Anglo-Americans would have conquered the world long ago.

"Until a short time ago, it was the main argument in enemy propaganda that the enormous productive potential of America, and time, which was working in favour of the anti-Axis Powers would, in the end, result in an Allied victory. But even this argument the British Premier had to drop during his last visit to Washington. The Tripartite Powers have one formidable advantage over their enemies: they stick together like a wall of granite. There is neither jealousy, suspicion nor doubt to divide them. There is no conflict or difference of opinion in their programme. On the other hand, what is the situation in the enemy camp? The

American imperialists mistrust the British imperialists, and Giraud is jealous of de Gaulle. In this total war, a motely crew like that of the Allies, however large it may be, can never win.

"Here, in Japan, there is as much optimism and confidence as in the other Axis conntries. Every Japanese citizen is ready to do his duty even like Grand Admiral Yamamoto. Japan has at her disposal enormous manpower and material which has not yet been fully utilized. The economic situation, particularly the food situation, is very satisfactory, and if anything, will only improve in the future. These very vast resources, which were at one time at the disposal of the Anglo-Saxons, are being used for their defeat. The firm determination of the Tripartite Powers, their unparalleled heroism and their superior technique of war are the guarantees of a final Axis victory.

"My German friends, from the land of the Rising Sun, I send you my most sincere greetings. I congratulate you on the unique successes which you will have scored in order to establish the New Order—an order based on justice and equal rights.

"My faith in the final victory of the Tripartite Powers and their Allies is just as firm as my faith in the early emancipation of my own people.

"I send greetings to my compatriots in Germany and other European countries. I have no doubt that they, too, will do their best in this gigantic struggle. We are still facing great difficulties which we will have to overcome. But the final victory and with it our freedom is bound to come as surely as the bright day comes even after the darkest of nights.

"Long Live the Tripartite Powers and their Allies! Long Live Free India!"

3. TIME FOR ARMED STRUGGLE HAS COME*

[*Speech delivered at SHONAN (Singapore) on July 4, 1943*]

"My countrymen, I am speaking to you from Singapore. I will repeat briefly my speech, delivered today at the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore.

"Sri Ras Behari Bose, representatives of the war of independence of East Asia, sisters and brothers! I thank you

* This is the full text of a Singapore broadcast by Netaji in Hindustani. On July 4, 1943, Netaji was unanimously elected President of the Indian Independence League; " and in this broadcast Netaji broadcast a summarised version of the speech he had made earlier that day at the meeting of the "Indian Independence League."

all for unanimously electing me President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. I accept the honour you have conferred on me to shoulder this responsibility and carry out my duties in accordance with your wishes. If I relate to you my experiences in India and abroad, you will agree with me when I say that the blessings of God have been with us so far and have protected and led us on the path of freedom. He has raised my hopes and redoubled my power of thinking.

"Friends, the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come. **Military service and loyalty to the mother country are the most essential things necessary to achieve our goal of freedom during the war.** I appeal to you, my countrymen in the Far East, to assemble under the common flag. I am pleased to note that this step which you have taken is supported not only by the Indian nationalists in the Far East but by one-fourth of the population of the world. For the first time in the history of India, Indians abroad are unanimous and united in their only goal—that of freedom. Indians abroad maintain direct relationship with the Indians at home. Now we are free and I can tell you that our representatives have spread themselves throughout India during the past twelve months. We shall not take any step which would obstruct our path of freedom.

"Now I will tell you how we should attain our freedom. Some of our friends were under the impression that Britain would be obliged to yield to our demand for freedom under the pressure of present world circumstances, but their hopes have proved Utopian. It is evident that Britain is determined to exploit India to the maximum both during the war and after it. The British Government has nominated Wavell as Viceroy with the aim of achieving this end. Some Indians believed that a man like Lord Halifax would have been more acceptable to India, but I do not hold that view. The British Government has selected the fugitive General who will be the new Viceroy of India with the deliberate intention of establishing a military dictatorship in India. The military dictatorship of Wavell will increase the hatred of the Indians for the British, thereby aiding and spurring on the revolution. Our [illegible] should revive the struggle which began with the visit of Cripps in India during April 1942. No doubt the British Premier will endeavour to maintain British imperialism. Recently, he declared that he prefers the phrase "Britain [illegible]" to "British Commonwealth." The British may offer proposals which I must tell you are made to entangle you. **Any compromise with the British will be sheer loss for us, and will prove detrimental to our interests.** We must be

ready for sacrifice and action. **The internal situation of the** country must not be against us. **The Axis Powers have facilitated our task by striking shattering blows against our enemies and they will continue fighting our adversaries until they are beaten and prostrate.**

"Friends, for the last two years I have been carefully studying the course of the war and I can say with absolute confidence that the Axis Powers will achieve final victory. I know that there will be insignificant setbacks in this long war, and hardships will have to be endured to defeat the Anglo-Americans. The situation is favourable to the Axis Powers though, I must admit, the Anglo-Americans have lately achieved some minor successes. You will, however, see that the Anglo-Americans will suffer one defeat after another as time goes on.

"Britain, despite her being one of the most powerful countries in the world, did not hesitate to stretch out her hand to others for help. **World history bears evidence that no war of independence has been successful without outside help. The present situation proves that the Axis Powers, who are at war with our enemies, are our friends and helpers. There can be no harm if we seek the aid of the Tripartite Powers if necessary.** I know that some of my countrymen doubt the sincerity of the Axis Powers. **Even a child can understand that the Axis Powers who are fighting our enemies are helping the Indians in their war of independence.** The Axis Powers have clearly elucidated their attitude towards us. Japan, too, has clarified her policy and explained her attitude towards India, Burma, and the Philippines through her mouthpiece, General Tojo. The cunning and unblushing British statesmen and propagandists try to give the lie to Japan's sincere promises. General Tojo has silenced British statesmen by promising to give complete independence to Burma and the Philippines during the current year. The friendly attitude of Japan towards Burma and the Philippines is the best proof of her sincerity, honesty and truthfulness. **Japan is the first Asiatic nation to stand up successfully to the Western Powers. Japan knows that as long as Asiatics are in bondage their freedom will be threatened by outsiders. She earnestly desires to see the Asiatic nations free.** We have now a good opportunity to free ourselves and lay the foundations of a new world order based on truth, justice and freedom. I ask those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds, to rely upon me. **I shall always be loyal to India alone, I would never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India.** In my speech over the Tokyo radio the other day, I told you that the British Government could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me.

British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path. **Every Indian must know that British victory implies the destruction of India.** We can realise our aspiration for freedom by the final victory of the Axis Powers. **We must take it for granted that we shall be free with the ultimate success of these Powers.**

"Friends! Time and circumstances are in our favour. We can win our freedom if we are ready to fight and are prepared to make sacrifices. You might remember that Sir Stafford Cripps returned to England in May last disappointed. The Indian war of independence then entered a new and important phase. Since then we have been marching forward along the road to freedom. The *Satyagraha* movement received an impetus and sabotage activities began after the arrest of Gandhiji in August last, an event which will long be remembered in Indian history. Since then there has been a marked change in the Indians. The time has come when the Indians at home, and particularly those abroad, should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists. **I have decided to form a Free India Government in order to bring the different elements together and to collect our strength. The aim of this Provisional Government of India will be to make the Indian revolution a success. It will be the duty of this Government to arm the Indians at home and abroad and to realise our aspirations of freedom with the aid of arms. The task of our Provisional Government will end with the extirpation of British influence from India.** Indians would then be duty bound to set up a National Government. We shall be ready to fight side by side with the Axis soldiers against our enemies when our preparations for armed warfare are completed. We shall pay the price of our freedom with our blood, but by so doing we shall lay the foundation-stone of national unity. We shall be able to maintain our freedom if we attain it through our own sacrifices and blood.

"Friends! I thank you lastly for the faith you have placed in me and for the assurance of your co-operation and loyalty. Though I am confident of our final success, I must warn you and ask you not to underestimate the strength of the enemy. We must face the obstructions in our way with boldness and courage. Our enemy is not only strong and powerful but is cruel and tyrannous. We shall have to face hard and severe fighting. You will have to endure troubles and unforeseen dangers, but you

will be free if you withstand the trials. I am confident that you will reach your goal and lead your poor and down-trodden country to freedom and prosperity. Up, up with the Revolution! Long Live Free India."

4. WE SHALL FULFIL OUR PROMISE *

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on January 1, 1944.*]

"Ladies and gentlemen! In October last I left Burma for a tour of East Asia. That is why I could not address you over the air. Last November, while broadcasting from Tokyo, I promised you a speech on the world situation. Before I start I wish to offer you New Year greetings. The new year finds the war in its final and decisive stage. The people of India, particularly the Indians of East Asia, should be prepared to make the greatest sacrifices. I set out on a tour of East Asia in order to prepare the Indians there for this final battle. There is no place in East Asia where Indians are not to be found, and every Indian is enthusiatic about the battle for India's liberation. Men are joining the Indian National Army from all parts of East Asia and money is also pouring in large amounts. This will continue until the battle for freedom is won. The Indian National Army will continue to receive monetary help. I have visited Malaya, Japan French Indo-China and the East Indies where I inspected the war effort of the Indian National Army. In Malaya alone I received 7,000,000 dollars for the Indian National Army.

"At this time I am reminded of my friends who are rotting in dark British dungeons in India. I am not going to relate here the brave deeds done by these patriots, whose only fault is that they worked for the freedom of their country. Justice must triumph in the end, and we shall not rest till we have won the battle of independence.

"The war has entered its final stage. In October and November last there were signs of it, but now it is crystal clear. Those who were saying only a few days ago that the European war would end in 1944 are now saying that it will not end in 1945 or even in 1946. The German counter-attack in the West and the V-1 and V-2 attacks have upset the Allied time-table. Allied propaganda has been exposed. Dismay prevails in England. The Germans have surpassed their enemies in the production of war material. The enemy has admitted that the German defences were strong.

*This New Year Message was translated into Hindustani and broadcast to India by the "Provisional Government of Azad Hind" Radio.

"On the other hand, there are deep-rooted differences between Russia, America and Britain. The bitter criticism of the British policy in Greece, Belgium and Italy by the American Press proves the existence of differences between America and British over Allied policy in Europe. British troops, on the plea of liberating the people of Greece, are machine-gunning them. Recently, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden spoke on Greek affairs. Mr. Roosevelt let the cat out of the bag by saying that there was no such thing as the Atlantic Charter.

"Whereas there is a sharp decline in manpower in America and Britain, Japanese and German war production is mounting hourly. Even if Germany is defeated, the Anglo-American armies will have to be kept in Europe in order to stem the tide of Bolshevism, and this augurs well for Japan. This policy of the Anglo-Americans will result in the ultimate destruction of their imperialism. We who are fighting for India's liberation should pay heed to the situation in Europe.

"The Anglo-American position in the Pacific is even worse The capture of a few islands in the Pacific by America provided the Allied propagandists with some material. But now they have realised that island-hopping won't do. This has even been admitted by General Wedemeyer. The Americans said that the Japanese Navy suffered a crushing defeat in October last in the waters off Formosa and the Philippines, but the doubts expressed by American crews and British correspondents in India concerning this announcement have exposed the falsity of the whole thing Now they realise that the American Navy suffered the same fate as Napoleon suffered while advancing towards Moscow. Coming events will bear me out. In the Philippines, the Japanese are dealing the Americans deadly blows. While the Anglo-Americans talk of linking Chungking and India by a land route, the Japanese road linking Japan with Singapore is completed. The whole Japanese nation is engaged on increasing Japan's war production. The enemy desires the end of the war, but it is improbable. Japanese and German interests lie in prolonging the war. The Japanese *Kamikaze* Corps are wreaking havoc on the Americans. I went to Japan several times and saw Japanese military strength. In this connection you should read the statement of *Reuter's* military commentator in London, made on December 3 last, and the statement of the U. S. Under-Secretary for War made on December 21 last. These statements will serve to show how much America and Britain are worried over Japanese military strength. The Indian National Army will shortly launch its attack and the British forces will be compelled to retreat until they are defeated.

"We have gained much experience in the fighting on the Indo-Burma front, and we must make full use of it. We are certain of our victory. We know the weaknesses of our enemy, and our faith in victory has been redoubled. We know that we shall have to fight hard and bitter battles on the Indo-Burma front. The battles of Chittagong and Imphal will decide the battle of India's liberation. We shall fight the enemy with patience and steadfastness.

"Brothers and sisters! We assure you that we shall fulfil our promise. The Indian National Army will soon find itself in the plains of Bengal and Assam. When we arrive there it will be your duty to help us. Meanwhile you should continue to make your preparations. But, do not repeat 1942 before the time is ripe for it. Convey our New Year message to those rotting in British jails, and tell them that their sacrifices will not go in vain. India will be free. Jai Hind!"

5. THE I. N. A. IS READY

[Broadcast from SINGAPORE on January 1, 1944]

"Today all Indians are ready to plunge into the battle for India's freedom and the New Year is sure to bring us ultimate victory, for I become more and more confident about it when I look back on our achievements in the past. In East Asia, Japan has consolidated her power. The two newly liberated Asiatic nations, Burma and the Philippines, have shown remarkable progress within quite a short time, and the present consolidation of the Greater East Asiatic nations is an outcome of the historic conference of the six Greater East Asiatic nations held at Tokyo.

"The closing year knit the 3,000,000 Indian nationals of East Asia into one compact revolutionary body, eager to sacrifice their all in the struggle for India's freedom. At their back is the invincible Indian National Army equipped with modern and up-to-date weapons of war. This Army will kindle the fire of revolution in India which will reduce British Imperialism to ashes. The 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind, which is in possession of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and which has been duly recognized by nine great powers of the world including Japan and Germany, has promised its wholehearted support to our Army. It is high time for us to launch the offensive against the British and win India's freedom. My countrymen at home, who are labouring under the atrocities of the callous British, have seen them in their true colours and have fully understood their desire to

keep India in permanent bondage, with the help of mercenary troops from America, China and Africa. They have also noted the evil intentions behind the speeches of Wavell. But our countrymen at home have full faith in our Army, which will soon cross the border and free India."

6. HOMAGE TO MOTHER OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

[*Statement issued by Netaji on the death of Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi on February 22, 1944*]

Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi is dead. She has died in British custody in Poona at the age of 74. With 388,000,000 of my countrymen at home and with my compatriots abroad I share the deepest bereavement over the death of Kasturba. She died under tragic circumstances, but for a member of an enslaved nation no death could have been more honourable or more glorious. India has suffered a personal loss. Kasturba Gandhi is the second fellow prisoner of Mahatma Gandhi to die under his very eyes in custody since he was imprisoned in Poona a year and a half ago. The first was his life-long fellow worker and private secretary, Mahadev Desai. This is the second personal bereavement that Mahatma Gandhi has suffered during his present imprisonment.

"I pay my humble tribute to the memory of that great lady who was a mother to the Indian people, and I wish to express my deepest sympathy for Gandhiji in his bereavement. I had the privilege of coming into frequent personal contact with Shrimati Kasturba, and I would sum up my tribute to her in a few words. She was the ideal of Indian womanhood, strong, patient, silent, self-sufficient. Kasturba was a source of inspiration to the millions of India's daughters among whom she moved and whom she met in the struggle for the freedom of her motherland. From the days of the South-African *Satyagraha* she has shared with her great husband the trials and sufferings which have been their lot for nearly 30 years now. Her many imprisonments seriously impaired her health, but jails held no terrors for her even in her 74th year. Any time Mahatma Gandhi launched a civil disobedience movement, Kasturba was at his side in the forefront of the struggle, an outstanding example to India's daughters and a challenge to the sons of India not to lag behind their sisters in the fight for India's independence.

"Kasturba has died a martyr's death. She had been suffering from heart disease for over four months. But the cal-

lous British Government turned a deaf ear to the humanitarian pleadings of the Indian nation to release Kasturba on medical grounds. The British probably hoped that by subjecting Mahatma Gandhi to such mental anguish they could crush him body and soul and beat him into surrender. I can only express my contempt for those brutes who profess to fight for freedom, justice and morality and yet perpetuate such cold-blooded murder. They have not understood Mahatma Gandhi. They have not understood the Indian people. No amount of mental torture and physical suffering that the British can and may inflict on Mahatma Gandhi or the Indian nation will make him budge an inch from the stand he has taken. Mahatma Gandhi called upon the British to quit India and save India from the horrors of modern war. The insolent reply of the British was to throw him into prison like an ordinary criminal. He and his noble consort would rather die in prison than come out free in an enslaved India. The British were determined to see that Kasturba died of heart disease in custody under the very eyes of her husband. They have had their criminal desire fulfilled, and it is nothing short of murder. But to us Indians at home and abroad, Shrimati Kasturba's sad death in prison is a grim reminder that the British are bent on disposing of our leaders one after another in the most heartless manner. As long as the British remain in India these atrocities against our nation will continue unchecked. There is only one way in which the sons and daughters of India can avenge the death of Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi, and that is by the complete destruction of the British Empire in India. A special responsibility lies on the shoulders of Indians in East Asia who have launched an armed struggle against the British rulers in India. This responsibility is shared in particular by all our sisters here. In this hour of sorrow we will renew our solemn pledge to continue the armed fight until the last Britisher is driven out of India."

7. REPORT TO GANDHIJI

[This is the full text of a message to Mahatmaji which Netaji broadcast over RANGOON Radio on July 7, 1944]

"Mahatmaji, now that you are healthy and you are able to attend to public business to some extent, I am taking the liberty of addressing a few words to you with a view to acquainting you with the plan and the activities of patriotic Indians outside India. Before I do so, I would like to inform you of the feelings of deep anxiety which Indians throughout the world had for several days after your sudden release by the British on grounds of ill-health. After the sad demise

of Shrimati Kasturba in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed about the state of your health. However, we leave it to Providence to restore you to comparative health so that 388,000,000 of your countrymen may still have the benefit of your guidance. I shall next like to say something about the attitude of your countrymen outside India towards yourself and your faith. What I shall say in this connection is the bare truth and nothing but the truth.

"There are Indians outside India, as also at home, who are convinced that Indian independence will be won only through the historic method of struggle. These men honestly feel that the British Government will never surrender to the persuasion of moral pressure or non-violent resistance. Nevertheless, for the Indians outside India differences in the method are purely domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the independence resolution at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, all the members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For the Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. In all their propaganda before the world they give you the position and respect that is due to you. For the world public we, the Indian nationalists, are all one, having but one goal, one desire, and one endeavour in life. In all the countries free from British influence that I have visited since I left India in 1941, you are held in the highest esteem, as no other Indian political leader has been during the last century. Each nation has its own internal policies and its own attitude towards political problems. But that cannot affect the nation's appreciation of a man who has served his people so well and who has bravely fought with a first-class modern power all his life. The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of Indian freedom has increased a hundred-fold since you bravely sponsored the 'Quit India' resolution in August 1942.

"From the experiences of the British Government while I was inside India, from the secret information that I gathered about Britain's policy while outside India, and from what I have seen regarding Britain's aims and intentions throughout the world, **I am honestly convinced that the British Government will never recognise India's demand for independence.** Britain's one effort today is to exploit India to the fullest degree in an endeavour to win the war. During the course of this war, Britain has lost one part of her empire to her friends and another to her enemies. Even if the Allies could somehow win the war, it will be the U.S. and not Britain that will be top-dog in the future, and it

will mean that Britain will become a protege of the U.S. In such a situation, Britain will try to make good her present losses by exploiting India more ruthlessly than ever before.

"In order to do that, plans have been already hatched in London for crushing the nationalist movement in India once and for all! It is because I know of these plans from secret but reliable sources that I feel it my duty to bring it to your notice. **It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people.** No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain, as in the U.S., who would like to see India free. These idealists, who are treated by their own people as cranks, however, form only a microscopic minority and are without influence. So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing.

"Regarding the war aims of the U. S., I may say that the ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the 'American century', i.e., in the present century the U. S. will dominate the world. In this ruling clique there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U. S. There is no Indian, whether at home or abroad, who would not be happy if India's freedom could be won through the method that you have advocated and adopted all your life and without shedding human blood. But things being what they are, **I am convinced that, if we do desire freedom, we must be prepared to wade through blood. If circumstances made it possible for us to organize an armed struggle inside India through our own efforts and resources that would have been the best course for us.** But, Mahatmaji, you know the Indian condition perhaps better than anybody else. **As far as I am concerned, after 20 years' experience of public service in India, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to organize armed resistance in the country without some help from our countrymen abroad as well as from some foreign power or powers.**

"Prior to the outbreak of the present war, it was exceedingly difficult to get help from any foreign power or even from the Indians abroad. But the outbreak of the present war has opened the possibility of obtaining both political and military aid from the enemies of Britain. Before I could expect any help from them, however, I had first to find out what their attitude towards India's demand for freedom was. The British propagandists have been telling the world for years that the Axis Powers are the enemies of freedom and, therefore, of India's freedom. Before I finally

made up my mind to leave home and my homeland, I had to decide whether it was right for me to get help from abroad."

"I had previously studied the history of revolutions all over the world in order to discover the methods which enabled other nations to obtain their freedom. **But I had not found a single instance where an enslaved people won freedom without foreign help of some sort.** In 1940 I read history once again and I have come to the conclusion that history did not furnish a single instance where freedom had been won without the help of some sort from abroad. As for the moral questions whether it is right to take such help, I have repeatedly declared, both in public and in private, that one can always take the help as a loan and repay that loan later on. **Moreover, if a powerful empire like the British Empire could go round the world with a begging bowl, what objection could there be to an enslaved and disarmed people like ourselves taking the help as a loan from abroad ?**

"I can assure you Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission, I spent days and weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. **After having served my people so long to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor or to give anyone any justification for calling me a traitor. By going abroad on the perilous quest, I was risking not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India durirg the crisis.** If I had any hope that within our life-time we would get another chance—another golden opportunity—for winning freedom as during the present war, I doubt if I would have ever set out from home."

8. FIRST BIT OF FREE INDIAN SOIL

[*Broadcast from RANGOON on July 9, 1944*]

"The last time you heard my voice over the radio, I spoke to you from Shonan. Today, I am much nearer to you, as I am now addressing you from the broadcasting station of Rangoon. The Headquarters of the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' has been shifted from Shonan to Burma, and that is why I am now able to speak to you from Rangoon. My first feelings on coming to Burma

are of profound thankfulness for the hospitality that we have received at the hands of the Burmese Government, and for the help we have obtained from the Nippon authorities, without which the transfer of the Headquarters of our Provisional Government from Shonan to Burma would have been quite impossible. I am happy to be able to say that the great leader of the independent Burmese nation, and the Head of the Independent State of Burma, His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw, is one of the best friends that we now have outside India. The warm hospitality and the cordial assistance that His Excellency and His Excellency's Government and nation have been giving us are of incalculable worth and value to us in our coming struggle for India's liberation. And, as for the unfailing sympathy and help that we have been receiving from Japan from the beginning of the war in East Asia, I shall only say this that we shall go on fighting shoulder to shoulder with Nippon till our common enemy is completely overthrown and India is once for all emancipated from Anglo-American imperialism.

"Friends! I shall now give you a very interesting piece of news, namely, that after I arrived in Burma I was able to visit the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. You will remember that on November 6, 1943, at the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held in Tokyo, His Excellency Premier General Hideki Tojo made a historic declaration to the effect that the Government of Nippon would transfer the Andaman and Nicobar Island to the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind.' Following that declaration, I had conversations with the Nippon authorities on the subject both in Tokyo and in Shonan. After these conversations, the Imperial Navy authorities arranged for my visit to these islands, during which I was accompanied by members of my Government and of my personal staff. I have now returned here after completing that trip. The object of my journey to the Andaman Islands was to discuss with the local Nippon authorities preparatory measures necessary for effecting the transfer of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind.' In pursuance of the discussions that were held there, I can now announce that I have appointed Lt.-Colonel A.G. Lokanathan, a high-ranking officer of the Indian National Army, as Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. As soon as transport arrangements are made, the newly appointed Chief Commissioner will proceed to the above islands to take charge. During the visit I and the members of my party had the unique experience of our lives when we stood on the soil of free India for the first time. It was an unforgettable event for us to see our tri-colour national flag fluttering

in the air over the former British Chief Commissioner's residence on Ross Island. During our stay there we occupied the former British Chief Commissioner's residence, and we wondered all the time how the wheels of victory were now moving in India's favour. The sight of our national flag flying over the Chief Commissioner's house made us all think of the day when the same flag will be hoisted over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

"My countrymen, you remember that since August last year I have been giving expression to my hope and belief that before the end of 1943 we would stand on the soil of free India. That this dream has actually been fulfilled before December 31, 1943, has given us the greatest happiness. While we were in the Andaman Island we visited the notorious cellular jail in Port Blair, and paid silent homage to those patriotic countrymen of ours who suffered indescribable persecution and torture in the past, and some of whom even laid down their lives as victims of British tyranny and brutality. We were informed by the former superintendent of jail that the last batch of political prisoners consisting of about 200 court-martialled prisoners were transported back to India along with some British officials shortly before the Japanese occupation of the island. During my visit to the island I was able to study conditions there at first-hand, and to get acquainted with the local population. I found that they were all happy that the British have been expelled from the place, and their joy knew no bounds when they heard the declaration of the Government of Nippon regarding the islands in November last. A general national awakening was visible among the people, and they are determined to become good and patriotic citizens of India in future.

At the mass meeting which was held there, I told the people that since they had suffered so much at the hands of British Imperialism in the past it had pleased Providence to give them the present days of freedom and happiness. Actually, they should now forget their unhappy past, become worthy citizens of Free India, and work hard in order to create a bright and happy future for themselves. From what I have seen of the islands and of their natural resources, I am confident that as part of Free India, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands will become a place fit for free, cultured and progressive men and women to live in. I am sure that if in future the British attempt to reconquer the islands they will meet with fierce and stubborn opposition from the people there who, having once tasted freedom, will never go back to their former slavery.

"However, since the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' has an army of its own but no navy, we shall need the

help and protection of the Imperial Nipponese Navy in future, even after we take over the administration of the islands, and I am profoundly happy and thankful that we shall continue to receive this assistance from the Imperial Nipponese Navy.

"Friends, now that I am so near you, you will be able to hear my voice more often, and perhaps more distinctly than in the past. But before I close for today I should like to bring to you greetings from Burma. Here in Burma the weather is very pleasant and agreeable. A feeling of supreme optimism pervades the whole atmosphere, despite the boastful propaganda that the enemy have been indulging in for a long time, and despite the occasional appearance of enemy aeroplanes in the sky. The liberated Burmese nation is determined to shed the last drop of its blood before giving up its hard-won freedom. Between the Burmese and Indians today there is a feeling of deep comradeship—something like a blood-pact. We are determined to fight together against the common enemy, the Burmese in order to preserve liberty, and we Indians in order to expel the enemy from Indian soil. Today, India needs Burma, and so does Burma need India. United we stand, and with the help of invincible Nippon, united we shall win.

"Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Burma Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

9. GANDHI-JINNAH MEETING

[*Broadcast from "Somewhere in Burma" on September 12, 1944*]

"Friends and countrymen, I want to talk to you today about the Indian situation You are all aware that Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah are discussing the Hindu-Muslim question in Bombay and that Gandhiji is prepared to come to an agreement with the League even if it means conceding the League demand of Pakistan. I know what you are all very anxious to know what we Indians abroad think about Gandhiji's attempt to pacify the League. It is clear that Gandhiji and other Congress leaders wish to compromise with Britain after settling with the League. We must act instantly if we are to prevent this. We Indians in East Asia are today fighting for a free and united India. We are resolved to liberate our Motherland and we are confident that we shall ultimately succeed. However long and bitter the struggle, we are convinced that truth and justice will finally triumph, and that our struggle for India's liberation will be successful. Therefore, we shall never be a party to any compromise with Britain. The very idea of a compromise with the British is repugnant to us, it will, we very strongly feel, mean the

perpetuation of our slavery. Friends, **we have resolved to create a united and free India, therefore, we shall oppose all attempts to divide her and cut her up into bits.** Ireland and Palestine have taught us a lesson. We have realized that to divide a country will ruin her economically, culturally and politically. America could not have risen to her present greatness had the American Pakistanists been allowed their own way. We can easily solve the minorities problem once we are free from foreign domination. We should have the Soviet Union as our example. There are more races in the Soviet Union than in India; yet they are all united today. Why? Because they are free and do not have to bow to a foreign ruler.

"Personally, I have great respect for Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League. I and my party have been in close contact with him and have co-operated with the League in the past and I am opposed neither to the League nor to its illustrious leader. But, **I vehemently oppose the Pakistan scheme for the vivisection of our Motherland.**

"During the first three years of the present war the Anglo-Americans have suffered one reverse after another. But, they never thought of capitulation or surrender. They fought on with the hope that sooner or later their luck would turn, and their hope was justified. They have achieved many victories, but that will not make them slacken their war effort, nor does it mean that our allies will slacken their efforts or surrender. I suspect that there are some in India who believe that this is possible. They have been duped by the barrage of propaganda let loose on India and the world by the Anglo-Americans. But, I still believe that my countrymen will not be fooled by Allied propaganda. All the same, I cannot but feel sorry to see that even some of the Congressmen have been taken in by it. These dupes believe that the Allies are well on the way to victory, and are, therefore, anxious to come to a compromise with British imperialism.

"If we stop to think for a moment, we shall realise that final victory will go to the Axis. The war will be decided not in the West but in the East. Our attacks during the last six months have given us an idea of our enemy's strength. During these six months, in spite of his dogged attempts, he was decisively beaten in many sectors and our victorious troops drove him out of the Kaladan, Haka, Tiddim, Bishenpur, Palam and Kohima areas. True, there is a lull in the fighting just now, but, that is mainly due to the monsoon, and we have been forced to take the defensive. As we have already routed the enemy more than once, we are confident that we can do so again. We are resolved to fight till the

Motherland is free. We are aware that the struggle ahead of us will be a long and bitter one, and that it may take as long as two years or more to liberate India. But we must remember that the Anglo-Americans were able to gain only a few successes after five years of intense warfare. We shall not be discouraged if some time passes before we meet with success. **We should not compromise with the British thinking that now they are winning because then it will be impossible to liberate our Motherland. The agreement between the League and the Congress will be the forerunner of a compromise with Britain. If this should happen, India will remain a slave country for ever. As long as the Congress and Muslim League are separated there will be no compromise with the British.** That is why the Congressmen who want to come to a compromise with Britain have decided to swallow the bitter pill of Pakistan. I wish to remind both the Congress and Muslim League leaders that even if there is an agreement between these two parties regarding the Pakistan issue, Britain will not grant freedom to India. They have already proved this by saying that the interests of the minorities and the princes should be safeguarded. Those who believe that a compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress will persuade Britain to grant India freedom are only deceiving themselves. That being so, I fail to see the necessity for a rapprochement between the League and the Congress. **I am sure that even if Pakistan is conceded, it will not solve our problem. The League will never fight the British as we do. All that it wants is the division of India into Hindu and Muslim States.** There will be four Muslim States which will remain under British influence. So, instead of a single slave India, we shall have four independent slave Muslim States siding and abetting Britain. The British will ignore the Congress-League agreement if it is against their interest. They will not relinquish their hold on India. I ask the millions of Muslim youngmen in India, 'Will you be a party to the vivisection of your Motherland?' 'What will your status be in a divided India?' Therefore, my friends, you must remember that if you want freedom you must fight for it and kick the British out. There should be no compromise with Britain. Our divine Motherland shall not be cut up.

"Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

10. THE GERMAN DEFEAT

[*A statement issued by Netaji as broadcast by the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' Radio, Singapore, on May 25, 1945*]

"The war situation in Europe developed with dramatic suddenness during the last week of April and the first week of May. Though it was apparent to every observer since the beginning of this year that the German armed forces would not be able to hold out for an indefinite period nobody could predict how and when that end would come.

"The courage, tenacity, and fortitude with which the armed forces of Germany fought till the moment of Herr Hitler's death must have evoked the admiration of the whole world. In my own view, the defeat of Germany was not a military, but a political one. It was the foreign policy of Germany, *vis-a-vis* Soviet Russia and other countries that was fundamentally responsible for the military disaster which has now overtaken the German nation. One of the blunders committed by the German Government in the realm of foreign policy was its total disregard of Bismark's advice to the German nation, 'Never to fight on two fronts.' The turning point in European affairs came in 1940, when M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, visited Berlin. That was the hour when German statesmanship should have risen to its fullest height and reached an understanding with Soviet Russia by any means. If Bismark had been alive he would have done that. But unfortunately for the German nation, just as faulty statesmanship was responsible for its defeat in the first World War, so also has it been responsible for its defeat in the present war.

"The problem that should now engage the attention of every student of international affairs, is, as to what will happen to Europe in the future? On this point my views are perfectly clear, and I firmly adhere to what I have consistently said in the past, namely, that the collapse of Germany will be the signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviet and Anglo-Americans. The whole world knows that the war aims of Soviet Russia are quite different from those of the Anglo-Americans. The Soviet Government knows that the defeat of Germany has been due first and foremost to the heroism, tenacity and sacrifice of the people and armed forces of the Soviet Union. Consequently, the Soviet Government, being conscious of its own strength, will never give in to the Anglo-American Powers in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. The truth of this remark has been

already exemplified at San Francisco, where the conference virtually resulted in a fiasco, when M. Molotov left that city.

"The San Francisco Conference is only a precursor of the events that are to follow in the domain of European affairs Europe now stands at the crossroads of history. Prior to the outbreak of the present war the affairs of Europe were in a chaotic condition, with the Big Powers pulling in different directions. Germany, however, had a plan for the reorganization of Europe, and during the last five years she endeavoured to work out that plan. Now, with the collapse of Germany that plan has come to naught. In post-war Europe there is only one other power that has a plan which is worth giving a trial, and that power is Soviet Russia. The only plan, if we call it a plan, which Britain can have is to maintain the balance of power in Europe in her own selfish interest, with the help of France and possibly of the United States. That plan will never be accepted by the European nations. So far as the United States are concerned, however keen and ambitious they may be to establish the 'American Century' in the world, they will never succeed in controlling the affairs of Europe from across the Atlantic. Moreover, neither Britain nor the United States of America who are capitalist imperialist countries, can produce a plan of total reconstruction which will be acceptable to the nations of Europe.

"Consequently, we come to the conclusion that there is no other alternative for the nations of Europe than to give a trial to the experiment that has proved so eminently successful within the Soviet Union. No doubt Britain and America, and Britain even more than America, will do everything in their power to stop and frustrate Soviet plans for the reconstruction of Europe. But these attempts are bound to fail, primarily because during the last five years public opinion all over Europe has swung so violently to the left that after the collapse of National-Socialist Germany no Government and no social order can endure, which is not predominantly Leftist in character. So far as Germany's future is concerned, we have to remember that the National-Socialist Government, during a period of twelve years, virtually destroyed the old capitalist regime. The only alternative before the German people, therefore, seems to be to establish a Socialist order in preference to a Radical type, which will be on friendly terms with the Soviet Union. But how far this development will actually materialise depends on how Germany will be treated by the Allied Powers.

"If Germany is not humiliated, and is not made to nurse a desire for national revenge, it is inevitable that there will be a peaceful transition from National-Socialism to Socialism of

a Radical type. If on the other hand, the German people are humiliated and persecuted, the Socialist trend among the German people will be drowned for the time being and we shall see once again the seed of an ultranationalist revival, which will prove to be the starting point of another European war and perhaps of World War number three.

"If there is one man in Europe to day, who holds in his hands the destinies of the European nations for the few decades, that man is Marshal Stalin. The whole world and above all Europe, will, therefore follow with the greatest anxiety the moves of the Soviet Union in the days to come. In this hour of Germany's sorrow I cannot help reiterating on behalf of the Indian people and myself, our heartfelt gratitude to the German people and nation for the sympathy and support that they gave us in our struggle for freedom."

11. THE SITUATION IN BURMA

[*Statement on the Burma situation broadcast by the "I.N.A. Army Headquarters Radio," SINGAPORE, on May 26, 1945.*]

"I cannot at this stage issue a final or comprehensive statement on the situation in Burma, for the simple reason that fighting is still going on in several parts of Burma, in which troops of the *Azad Hind Fauj* are engaged. But, there is one remark that I can make without any hesitation. Whatever victories have been achieved by the Allied forces in Burma have been due more to the British Indian Army than to any other section of the Allied forces.

"In the spring of last year when we were fighting on Indian soil, it was the British Indian Army more than anybody else which barred the way to Imphal, to Calcutta, and to Delhi. Likewise, this year also it is the British Indian Army more than anybody else that has been responsible for the victories hitherto achieved by the Allied forces in Burma. While we have been fighting for the liberation of our Motherland, and incidentally for the defence of Independent Burma, it has been the most tragic experience to find ourselves thwarted by our own countrymen in the British-Indian Army, who are themselves slaves in their own country.

"In the midst of this tragic experience there is, howere, one small consolation. Uptil now the British Indian Army has been told day after day by our British oppressors that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the *Azad Hind Fauj* have been working and fighting not as patriots and revolutionaries, but as puppets of a foreign power. In fact the *Azad*

Hind Fauj has been nick-named by our enemies as the Japanese Indian Fauj or 'J. I. F.' Now members of the British Indian Army and other Indians who have come into Burma alongside the British will see with their own eyes the magnificent and unselfish work of the Provisional Government of Free India and of the heroic fight put up by India's army of liberation against tremendous odds.

"The effect of these experiences of the British Indian Army and on the people inside India will become more and more apparent as the days roll by. Already a change is noticeable in the utterances of enemy propagandists. In recent days the enemy radio has been referring to the *Azad Hind Fauj* not as a puppet army as before, but as a Japanese inspired Indian National Army. Though we have suffered heavy losses in men and material during the campaign of the last 15 months, our confidence in our ultimate victory remains unimpaired. Marshal Foch, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in the last European War, once made a historic remark that that army only is beaten which considers itself beaten. I am happy and proud to be able to say that no member of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and no member of the *Azad Hind Fauj* today feels that he has been beaten.

"Believing in the justice of our cause and being fully prepared to pay the price of liberty, we feel that we are invincible. One of the fathers of the science of modern warfare, the German General Clausewitz once said, 'war has many surprises.' The first surprise in this war has been the defeat of Germany. But there are many more in store for the world, and some of them will not be welcome to our enemies.

"Under the leadership of its own Government, the *Azad Hind Fauj* will carry on the fight against the Anglo-Americans, wherever and whenever they are met. *Chalo Delhi* will continue to be the war cry of this army, for the roads to Delhi are many, like the roads to Rome. Meanwhile, we shall continue to follow with the closest interest the ever-changing world situation, and we shall take the fullest advantage of it.

"I earnestly appeal to my countrymen inside India and outside to cherish the same optimism about our final victory as we do here. If our enemies could carry on the struggle in spite of the terrible reverses they suffered in Europe and in Asia between 1939 and 1942, there is no reason why we should not have at least the confidence of courage and a faith in final victory as our enemies, particularly when we are fighting for a cause that is just and patriotic."

12. COMMENT ON FIRST WAVELL OFFER

[*Statement broadcast by the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' Broadcasting Station, SAIGON, on June 18, 1945*]

"Sisters and brothers! I listened with great attention to the speech which the Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, broadcast on June 14, from New Delhi conveying the offer of the British Government to India. That was the offer to bring which Lord Wavell made a long pilgrimage to London. Though the manner and tone of the Viceroy's speech gave one the impression that he himself had very little hope that nationalist India would accept this offer, I have no doubt that the Indian public is now busy discussing the offer.

"At such a juncture it would neither be untimely nor out of place to inform my countrymen at home as to how Indians in East Asia have reacted to the British Government's offer. First of all, we found out, as the Viceroy has himself confessed, that the only motive of the British Government is to mobilise India's support in the war against Japan. The British people are war-weary and after the termination of the war in Europe they badly need rest, and as such, they want others to fight their battles while they themselves reap the fruits of victory. But the British Indian troops, too, are war-weary, and after the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans in Burma they also desire rest and relaxation. It is, therefore, vital for the British to make the Indian people pour out their money and shed their blood for the preservation of the British Empire. While the fighting was going on inside India and along the Indo-Burma border the British could bluff the British Indian Army with the preaching that it was their duty to fight for the defence of India. The British could also bluff them later on by preaching that the Burma campaign was merely a continuation of the campaign for the defence of India.

"But now that the British want India's blood and money for the campaigns beyond Burma and for the campaigns in the Pacific, a new scheme must be found in order to obtain India's support for such campaigns. That is why the British Government has now put forward this new offer which is in reality Sir Stafford Cripps' old offer in a slightly altered garb.

"In deciding what reply we Indians should give, we will have to consider what we stand to gain by fighting Britain's war against Japan. It is one thing for Britain to forcibly exploit India for her war of aggression but it is quite a different thing for Indian nationalists to voluntarily fight Britain's war. To co-operate in Britain's war effort at this stage will mean that we have completely nullified our moral struggle against

the British. It will mean political suicide on the part of the Indian National Congress and for us Indians as well.

At an earlier stage of the war British propagandists and their Indian trumpeters could possibly bluff and bamboozle the Indian people that India's defence was at stake as the Japanese were then knocking at India's gates. But now with the change in the war situation in East Asia, no Indian can have the slightest interest in fighting Britain's war against Japan. It is, therefore, crystal clear that any acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer will be tantamount to a voluntary shedding of precious Indian blood and draining our resources in fighting Britain's imperialistic war. But what would India gain in return? Nothing except a few jobs on Viceroy's Executive Council.

"We cannot even argue that by accepting the offer we shall be reaching the 'goal of self-government', which Lord Wavell and the British Government want us to believe. India does not care any longer for self-government within the British Empire, and India will never be content with anything less than complete independence. But even if any Indian is prepared to accept self government he would have a much better chance of achieving that objective by continuing the resistance now than by accepting the present offer. The moment we accept the offer it will be inferred by the British Government that we are prepared to compromise by taking something very much less than even self-government. I have no doubt in my mind that the acceptance of this offer will seriously jeopardize all chances of securing even self-government in future, not to speak of complete independence. In short, by accepting the offer we shall gain nothing but we shall lose a lot, and it is Britain that will profit by our lack of strength.

"Under normal circumstances there would not be even a ten to one chance for any Indian nationalist to be enamoured of the present offer, but the British are cunning politicians and they have chosen the proper psychological moment for aiming this offer at India. British politicians are hoping that the the Indian people are now overawed by recent Anglo-American victories. The Indian people may, therefore, feel that we stand no chance of achieving independence during the course of the present war and might as well make the best of a bad bargain and take whatever is being offered by the British. This is going to be the attitude of pessimists and moderate politicians like Sri Rajagopalachariar, but this attitude is entirely mistaken and unjustified, and will inevitably result in putting back the clock of freedom by many years.

"The first surprise of this war has been the defeat of Germany. But there are many other surprises in store for us, and some of them will not be welcome to our enemies. Although the war in Europe has ended, the war in East Asia will go on for a long time and India will have plenty of opportunities in future for working for and achieving her liberation. There is, accordingly, no reason whatever to enter into a humiliating compromise which British imperialism has offered us in the hope that, in view of her strong position, we will be overawed into accepting it. Firstly, Britain has not yet won the war; and, secondly, even if we fail to win independence during the course of the present war, we shall still get a last opportunity when the present war terminates and the change-over from war to peace takes place. History affords similar instances of successful revolutions which have broken out immediately after a big war and on several occasions the revolutionaries have emerged victorious out of the place following the war. For instance, in Ireland, the Easter Rebellion of 1916 was crushed but the Irish Revolution of 1919 after Britain's victory in the First World War was successful. Similarly, Turkey was badly defeated during the First World War, but after her defeat in 1918, she launched a war of liberation and came out triumphant in 1921. After the Allied victory in Europe in the present war Syria and the Lebanon are already waging their war of liberation, and I have no doubt that they will ultimately come out victorious. Consequently, there is no reason whatsoever why we should humiliate ourselves by accepting the offer which we proudly rejected in 1942 when Sir Stafford Cripps brought it to India.

"I shall now refer to the merits of the British proposal. On close and careful analysis it will be found that the present proposal is in essence and in substance identical with that of Sir Stafford Cripps' offered to us in 1942. Three more seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council have been offered to us this time, for example, those of Home, Finance and External Affairs; for these and other portfolios and the others will be appointed by the Viceroy and will be responsible to him and not to the representatives of the peaple. On the other hand, the most important portfolio, that of the War Member, has been reserved for a Britisher namely, the C.-in-C. While the present offer is the old offer of Sir Stafford Cripps appearing in a slightly altered form, there are other obnoxious features which render the offer totally unacceptable. In his speech the Viceroy has clearly indicated that he regards the Congress as one among many parties as has been the traditional policy of the British Government. This attitude was indignantly repudiated by Mahatma

Gandhi at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 when, as representative of the Congress, he represented the Indian people. If the Congress accepts the offer now it will repudiate once for all what it has consistently maintained, namely, that it represents the people of India ; and it will accept what the British Government has repeatedly held, namely, that the Congress is one among many parties in India. I cannot, for the slightest moment, imagine how any Indian nationalist can think of accepting this offer.

"There is another mischievous feature in Lord Wavell's offer. He has ordered the release of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, but has maintained that unless his offer is accepted, all those who participated in the rising of 1942 will have to remain in custody. There is, nowhere, mentioned in his speech that even if his offer is accepted, those who were imprisoned in the year 1939 and 1942 will be set free. It is a well established convention in all democratic countries that a constitutional change is heralded by an amnesty for all political prisoners. In the case of India, however, this convention has been given the go-by.

"The British Government has been telling us that no constitutional changes can be introduced during the course of the war though we have seen that throughout the world far-reaching political changes are being carried out. Here in East Asia we have seen quite a different state of affairs. Right in the midst of the war, several independent governments have been set up and power has been handed over to people. So, you see that this British plea is completely hollow and it is intended to delay and deny the Indian demand. If Britain really wants to set up a responsible government she should lose no time in declaring India a self-governing nation and hand over power to the people's representatives.

"Sisters and brothers in India ! You have suffered long and suffered much from the political persecution and economic exploitation of British capitalism. Let us suffer a little longer. We have to resist British imperialism by all the moral and material means at our disposal, and above all, let us keep the flag of independence flying. By continuing our fight against imperialism, and by refusing to compromise over independence we shall be able to keep burning the question of India's freedom before the bar of world opinion. That is the way to freedom. On the other hand, by accepting the offer we will be humiliating ourselves and losing the moral sympathy of the world.

"It may be that some of you are asking what is the best way for achieving the liberation of India. To that my answer is perfectly clear. Firstly, from outside India we shall carry on

the armed struggle for our freedom to the last man and to the last round. Secondly, there are numerous friends of India abroad who advocate our cause before the bar of world opinion and in all international conferences. And, lastly, my countrymen, you too must be prepared to launch a revolution at the opportune moment which will spread like the wild fire of the prairies and may even be supported by the British Indian forces.

"Sisters and brothers! In conclusion, I appeal to you not to give u hope. I repeat that the forces that are now working inside India and outside are irresistible. There is no earthly power that can stop the Indian people from achieving their goal of freedom. With patience and determination we shall achieve our goal. The Viceroy has asked for your goodwill and co-operation. Tell him that your goodwill ond co-operation has been reserved for India's struggle for liberty and for none else."

13. NO COMPROMISE ON INDEPENDENCE

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE, June 19, 1945*]

'Sisters and brothers in India! Yesterday I spoke in a general way about Lord Wavell's offer and what our reaction to it should be. Today I want to speak to you again on the same subject. But before I do so, I should like to draw your attention to the communique issued by the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' on the same topic. That communique has been broadcast to you from this station yesterday and again today. The importance of this communique lies in the fact that it represents the considered opinion of politically minded Indians in East Asia. The communique has also added significance in so far as Indians in East Asia will stand by the policy enunciated therein. In other words, **if the Congress decides to accept Lord Wavell's offer and if, as an inevitable consequence of it, the Congress leaders come at the head of the Indian troops to fight Britain's imperialist war in the Far East, then there will be no option for us but to fight with the 'Azad Hind Fauj' against our own countrymen, who would then be allies of British imperialism**.

"British and American news agencies have been giving detailed reports of the dailydevelopments inside India. With the help of these reports it is possible to form a correct picture of what is going on inside our country. From the reports coming from India, it is clear to me that most people are absorbed in the consideration of the secondary features and the insignificant

details of the British offer; while, on the other hand, they do not give sufficient attention to the fundamental issues involved in that offer, as well as the inevitable consequences of it. I would, therefore, beg you to consider first of all what the inevitable results of accepting Wavell's offer will be, because the Congress leaders will have to take the responsibility of sending at least half-a-million Indian troops to fight Britain's imperialist war, not on the Indo-Burma border or inside Burma, but in the regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific. With all due respect I would like to ask Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other leaders whether they will take the responsibility of fighting Britain's imperialist war in the Far Fast and of sacrificing half-a-million Indian lives for the same.

"Our countrymen at home do not perhaps realize what is the real origin of the present offer of the British Government. As I have said in a separate statement, I have definite information obtained from reliable sources that the British Government was asked by the United States of America to provide sufficient men, money and material for the future campaigns in the Far East. The British Government was prepared to produce the required money and material, but was unable to provide the manpower from Britain, for reasons to which I shall subsequentuly refer. The British Government thereupon called upon Lord Wavell to obtain half-a-million Indian troops from India in order to meet the demand of the United States of America. Lord Wavell, knowing the Indian situation, was unable to comply with this request, because the big portion of the British-Indian Army has been engaged in the war in Africa, Asia and Europe over a long time, and has now become war-weary. Lord Wavell informed the British Cabinet that unless sufficient public enthusiasm was aroused in India, it would be impossible to find half-a-million Indian troops, who would be willing to fight Britain's war in the Far East. Thereafter, communications took place between Lord Wavell and the British Cabinet as to how India's support could be mobilized for the future military operations in East Asia, that is, in Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, China and Japan proper. The real motive underlying the British offer is to somehow get, with the approval of the Indian nationalists, and the full connivance of the Congress, half-a-million troops with necessary material to fight Britain's imperialist war in East Asia. Hence it is Chungking that will profit greatly if Indian troops are made available for the war in the Far East. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Chungking Government and its propaganda organs are now jubilant over Lord Wavell's offer, and want the Congress to accept it. It

may be that there are a few Indians at home who know that Indian troops sent out to the Far East in the future will be opposed by the *Azad Hind Fauj* or the Indian National Army. But, there is no Indian who can be indifferent to this, nor can anyone approve of this plan of sacrificing half-a-million Indian lives for Britain's imperialist war in East Asia.

"I have already said that there are definite reasons as to why the British Government is unable to obtain from Britain itself the necessary fighting men needed for the future campaigns in the Far East. First of all, the British have suffered tremendous losses during the war on many fronts over a period of five years and nine months. As a result, the British people are war-weary and British troops are not willing to face another long campaign which will have to be fought under conditions much harder than in Europe. Secondly, unlike the First World War, this war has well nigh brought about the financial bankruptcy of Britain. Owing to the pressure of war and the colossal demand for war material British industries had to switch over almost entirely to war production. This was not the case with American industries. The result was that during the war Britain has been fast losing her pre-war markets and these markets were steadily going into the hands of American industry. If this process goes on for a long time during this war then Britain, in spite of an Allied victory, will lose the greater portion of her pre-war foreign trade and will be economically ruined. Owing to this reason British leaders find it imperative to release their factory workers from the fighting forces and war services as soon as possible and thereby restart peace-time industries. It is absolutely impossible for Britain to do both things at the same time, namely, to fight another long campaign in the Far East and to restart her peace-time industries.

"Therefore, the other big source of manpower within the British Empire, namely, India, is to be exploited in order to produce cannon-fodder for the future campaigns in East Asia. If it had been possible to get the required half-a-million troops from India without popular sympathy and support, Wavell's offer would never have seen the light of day; but, since the British Indian Army has already been fighting over a long period and is war-weary, it is absolutely essential for Lord Wavell and the British Cabinet to win over the Congress in order to get the required cannon-fodder for their future campaigns.

"I have no doubt in my mind that under normal circumstances nobody belonging to the Congress would have even looked at Lord Wavell's offer. In order to give their consideration to that offer Congressmen will have to give a go-by to

the fundamental principles and beliefs of the Indian National Congress. The Congress stands for complete independence. Lord Wavell's offer, as has been rightly pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi, does not even mention the word "independence." Secondly, the Congress stands for non-participation in and resistance to Britain's imperialist war. Thirdly, the Congress is still pledged to the 'Quit India' resolution adopted three years ago, and the national slogan for the Indian people since then has been 'Do or Die' in the fight for India's freedom. No Congressman can, consistent with his principles, therefore look at Lord Wavell's offer not to speak of giving consideration to it. Nevertheless, the fact that so many Congressmen and leaders are actually considering the British offer it is because a wave of defeatism has swept over India since the Anglo-American successes in Europe and in Burma In a fit of pessimism and defeatism some Congressmen are forgetting their life-long principles and are now reconsidering the offer which they rejected in 1942.

"What I want to tell my countrymen at home clearly and frankly is that the pessimism and defeatism which seems to have overtaken them is altogether unjustified. Whether one considers the international war situation or the international political situation, there is no cause for pessimism or despondency. The war in East Asia, whatever its ultimate result may be, is going to be a long and bitter one. The whole world knows that there is no real unity in the camp of the so-called United Nations. The war aims of Soviet Russia are quite different from those of the Anglo-American Powers and the conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-American is growing from day to day. Both sides have of late been trying to patch up their differences in Europe, but that is because they are preparing for a showdown in the Far East. Since the collapse of Germany in Europe Soviet Russia has been taking an increasing interest in the affairs of Asia. Had it not been for this, M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, would not have declared at San Francisco that the day was not far off when the voice of Free India will be heard in the world.

"While the war in the East will be going on, surprising developments are bound to take place in the domain of international affairs. Some of these developments will not be favourable to our enemies, and they will afford India further opportunities for achieving her independence. Syria and the Lebanon, in spite of the Allied victory in Europe, are fully untilizing the international situation for achieving their independence. By using England and the United States of America against French imperialism,

Syria and the Lebanon are setting an example to India as to how India can utilize the present international situation for winning her freedom. There is no doubt that if today Syria and the Lebanon are using Britain and America against France, the day is not far off when other Arab States will use other friendly Powers against Britain. British politicians realize this, and they realize also that India will untilize the support of friendly Powers for winning her independence, and some of these friendly Powers may come from inside the camp of the United Nations. During the course of this war India has become a live issue in world politics, and there is no doubt that in all international conferences in future the Indian issue will be raised. British politicians, therefore, want to prevent India remaining an international issue any longer, and want to convert India into a domestic issue of the British Empire. Let us not forget that the moment there is a compromise between nationalist India and Britain, India will become a domestic issue of the British Empire, and it will then be impossible for foreign Powers such as Soviet Russia to intervene on behalf of Indian independence.

"In spite of the recent military successes of our enemies, India has been making rapid progress towards her goal of independence. In addition to what the Indian people have been doing at home, two distinct forces have been working for India's independence. Firstly, those who have been fighting with arms against India's enemies, and, secondly, those who have been advocating India's independence before the bar of world opinion. Those who have hitherto been fighting with arms against India's enemies shall go on fighting in future. So far as the Indian National Army is concerned, it will go on fighting to the last man and to the last round. Similarly, those who have made India an international issue and who have been advocating on India's behalf before the world will also go on doing so. The forces working outside India, coupled with the resistance inside India, are irresistible. If you, my countrymen at home, cannot fight British imperialism with arms, then at least keep up moral resistance to our enemy by refusing to compromise with him or to fight his imperialist war.

"In this connection, I want to make an honest appeal to Mahatma Gandhi, to the President and members of the Congress Working Committee, and to the millions of Congressmen and Congresswomen who stand behind them that they should not judge the international situation wrongly at this critical moment. A mistake in appraising the international situation is likely to lead to a wrong step in Indian politics. India is not beaten. We have not fallen yet. The present

international situation is not unfavourable to us. On the contrary, it is much to our advantage and will become more so in the days to come. Why then should we think of a compromise now, why then should we accept the offer which we deliberately rejected three years ago?

"I speak now as an ordinary member of the Congress, who throughout his whole public life has faithfully served the Congress and the cause of India's independence. Even if you, my sisters and brothers at home, feel that our allies will be ultimately defeated and that the Anglo-Americans will ultimately emerge triumphant, there is still no reason to despair so far as India is concerned. No matter what happens in world politics in future, India is bound to win. India's star is definitely in the ascendent. Do not try to drag it down by a wrong step at this juncture. We have suffered long and have suffered much. Let us suffer a little more and a little longer. But, by all means let us stick to our guns till the end of this war. Sisters and brothers at home, don't you understand why Lord Wavell is in such a beastly hurry? Don't you understand why he has rejected the suggestion of Mr. Jinnah to postpone the Simla Conference? To us outside India the matter is very simple and very clear. The general election in Britain takes place on July 5. The Conservative Party wants to prevent India becoming an election issue. That is why Wavell's offer was flung upon us one month before the general elections in England. Nobody knows what the result of the general election may be. But everybody knows that whether the Labour Party gets a clear majority or not, it will, in any case, emerge much stronger in Parliament after July 5. The Conservative Party is afraid that if the Labour Party comes to power and if in the meantime the Indian problem is not settled, the Labour Party is bound to make another attempt to solve the Indian question. Personally, I do not believe in bargaining, because, for me there can be no compromise over India's independence. But if you are keen on bargaining, and if you are determined to compromise over India's independence, then I beg you not to commit yourselves before July 5. I do not know what was in the mind of Mr. Jinnah when he asked for the postponement of the Simla Conference, but if he intended to avoid playing his trump card before July 5, then I must express my admiration for his political sagacity and farsightedness. I can make a clear prediction that Lord Wavell will move heaven and earth to arrive at a decision before July 5. If he succeeds, it will be a feather in the cap of the Conservative Party and will help considerably to swell the votes of the Conservative Party's candidates at the elec-

tions. Moreover, if Lord Wavell succeeds in arriving at an agreement with the Congress before July 5, and if thereafter the Labour Party comes to power, then the Conservative Party will be able to prevent the Labour Cabinet reopening the Indian issue.

"It is not my intention to say that I believe in bargaining with the Labour Party. Far from it. My own plan is clear, and that is to go on fighting with the *Azad Hind Fauj* to the last man and to the last drop of our blood. But if you are not prepared to go that way because you regard it as a perilous adventure, and if you are determined on bargaining with the British Government, then I should say that the time for bargaining is after July 5. If you do not come to an agreement with Lord Wavell before July 5, then you will help to swell the votes of the Labour Party's candidates at the general elections. We won't forget that both the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer have been made under the auspices of a predominantly Tory Cabinet. The Labour Party has, on both occasions, been a minority party, and the initiative and responsibility did not rest with the Labour leaders. If Lord Wavell fails in his endeavour, it is inevitable that the British public would like to give the Labour Cabinet another chance to tackle the Indian issue. Therefore, to sum up, if you believe in bargaining, then break with Lord Wavell and reject his offer. It will undoubtedly aid the Labour Party at the polls and will enable the Labour Party to come into office. After that the Labour Party will certainly take the initiative in reopening the Indian issue, hoping that it will succeed where the Conservative Party had failed. Remember, my conviction is that if there is any other Cabinet after July 5, that Cabinet will consider it as a matter of duty and necessity to solve a problem which has remained unsolved for a long time. Therefore, with the Labour Cabinet you can strike a bargain which will be much more advantageous to India than a bargain with Lord Wavell dictated by the Conservatives.

"Sisters and brothers at home! I shall adress you again tomorrow at about this time. Today before I close, I should like to say one thing more. You are now violently condemning the Viceroy and you are criticizing him for giving an equal number of seats in the Executive Council to caste Hindus and to Muslims. But why don't you go deeper into the question and find out the idea behind it ? So far not one single Indian leader has done so, judging from the reports that are now before me. I regret that the members of the Hindu Mahasabha have taken what appears to be their own peculiar line Our objection should not be to Muslims getting a majority of seats on the Executive Council. The moot

question is what type of Muslims will come into the Executive Council? If we have Muslims of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Asaf Ali and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai the destiny of India will be safe. And I personally believe that it is only right to give all the freedom to such patriots. There is no difference between a patriotic Muslim and a patriotic Hindu. The British intention in the present case is to give all the Muslim seats to the nominees of the Muslim League. Seats reserved for the caste Hindus should all be given to the Congress. For the remaining seats the Viceroy will appoint his own nominee, who will act according to the Viceroy's directions.

"Consequently, with the Muslim League acting in full co-operation with the British Government, the Congress Party in the Executive Council will become a permanent minority. Thus, by a clever stratagem the Viceroy will not only continue to rule India arbitrarily as he has done uptil now, but he will continue to do so in future with the help of the Congress.

"Now the question arises as to whether the Muslim League members in the Executive Council will co-operate with the Viceroy. Personally, I am absolutely certain that they will do so because the Viceroy has agreed to give them a weightage in his Executive Council. If the Muslim League co-operates with the British Government in its war effort, then the British purpose of exploiting Indian manpower and resources for fighting Britain's imperialist war will be easily fulfilled.

"I have no doubt in my mind that in the offer of Lord Wavell there is a secret understanding either explicit or implicit, between the Muslim League and the British Government. But it is Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues who will outwit Wavell. In the Executive Council the Muslim League Party will carry out Britain's war policy in order to realize their plan of Pakistan as a reward for the Muslim League's co-operation in Britain's war effort. The Congress Party, if it accepts this offer, will become a permanent minority in the Executive Council. Nevertheless, she will have to carry out Britain's war policy as part of the compromise. After co-operation of the Congress has been secured by the British Government through this clever stratagem the British will try to get the Congress to agree to bring about the vivisection of India, namely, Pakistan. In the meantime the Congress will have committed political suicide by accepting a position in which it will have admitted that it is not the representative of the Indian people, but only one party among several parties in India.

"I, therefore, ask you, nay, I implore you, to ponder deeply over the matter and reject this shameless and sinister plan of Lord Wavell. I can understand those leaders who have so far declined to say anything about the merits of Lord Wavell's offer. But I am painfully surprised to find that some of those leaders who have spoken, like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have not insisted on the release of all the political prisoners prior to the Simla Conference. They have not even criticized the Viceroy for ignoring altogether those who were imprisoned prior to the disturbances of 1942, as well as those who were imprisoned after these disturbances. All that the Viceroy has said is that the Congressmen should behave like good boys and accept his offer, and that the release of those who were imprisoned in connection with the 1942 disturbances should be considered by the new Executive Council. There is not even a guarantee that they will all be released by the new Executive Council.

"In conclusion, I want to say that though I do not agree with the line of approach of the members of the Hindu Mahasabha and of the anti-Pakistan front, I feel very strongly that they have done a great service to India by giving an outspoken expression of their opposition to Lord Wavell's plan. In fact, I should go one step further and say that at this critical juncture it is the duty of all right-thinking and patriotic Indians, particularly of all progressive Congressmen, to start a raging and tearing campaign all over the country against Lord Wavell's offer. Mahatma Gandhi has always been responsive to public opinion as a leader should be. By declining to represent the Congress officially at the Simla Conference, he has done the right thing and has kept himself free to adopt the line which he thinks is right and in accordance with the wishes of the people and in the true interests of India. I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion, and in particular, the opinion among the rank and file of the Congress, should oppose this plan without delay. Mahatma Gandhi will not fail to take notice of it and he will then advise the Congress to reject the unwanted offer. Sisters and brothers, the destiny of India now lies in your hands; be up and doing and see to it that Lord Wavell's offer goes the same way as the Cripps offer of 1942.

"Jai Hind".

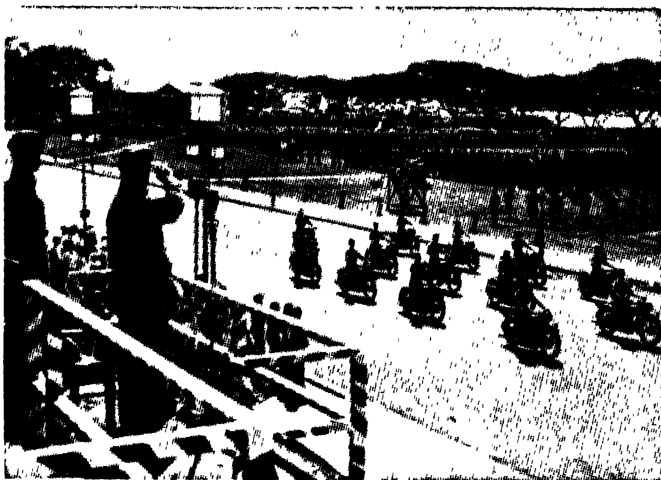
14. WAVELL OFFER EXPOSED

[Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 20, 1945]

"Sisters and brothers in India! I am going to speak to you today as I would have done if I had been with you at this critical juncture. I shall speak to you as one who has been with the Congress and has served the Congress with loyalty and devotion since 1921, through fair weather and foul. You remember very well, I hope, what political developments took place in India after September 1939 when the war broke out in Europe. At that time the British Government wanted to use the Congress Ministries in the Provinces for the prosecution of the war, but the Congress refused to co-operate in the war effort, and for two reasons: firstly, because India's national demand for independence had not been conceded by the British Government, and, secondly, because Britain's war was an imperialist war, in which India had no interest. At that time there was no question of Congress co-operation with the British Government at the Centre, but only in the eight provinces out of eleven where there were Congress Ministries. Since the Congress decided not to co-operate in Britain's war in 1939, the Congress Ministries resigned, although it was very clear to every Congressman that if these Ministries had remained in office they could have done a lot of good to the Indian people in other matters. After the resignation of the Congress Ministries the Congress gradually once again resumed the fight for freedom. The climax came in 1942 when the 'Quit India' Resolution was passed, and when the people were given a new slogan in their renewed struggle for liberty: the slogan of 'Do or Die.'

"Now in the year of grace 1945, we are confronted with Lord Wavell's offer. We are told that if the Congress agrees on wholehearted participation in the coming campaign in the Far East, then the Congress can get two things now plus a promise of self-government for the future. These two things are: firstly, some jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council, and, secondly, the restoration of the Congress Ministries in the Provinces.

"From the reports coming from India, it appears that some Congressmen are very favourably disposed towards Lord Wavell's offer, which means that they are satisfied with the promise of self government, not independence mind you, provided the Congress Ministries in the Provinces are restored and a few jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council are made available to Congressmen. But all these alluring offers have been before the Congress for a long time. First of all, the British have all along promised us self-government. Secondly,



NETAJI taking salute from the forces of Azad Hind Fauj



Guard of honour being presented to Netaji on his arriaval at Shonan (Singapore)

in the Provinces there were eight Ministries under our control in 1939, and it is we who decided that they should resign. Thirdly, jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council have always been open to Congressmen who were prepared to sell themselves.

"There are two new conditions in Lord Wavell's offer. Firstly, the number of jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased. Secondly, there is the explicit condition that acceptance of the offer will mean their pledge of wholehearted participation in the coming campaign in the Far East. This was not the case when the Congress Ministries tendered their resignation in 1939. The Congress Ministries, if they had so desired, could have accepted the offer after 1939, without giving a clear pledge of wholehearted participation in Britain's war.

"To those who are now eager to accept Lord Wavell's offer, I should like to put a few questions in order to clarify the issue before us. (i) What has happened to our goal of independence, to which there is not even a partial reference in Lord Wavell's offer? (ii) Does *Purna Swaraj* mean only Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, or does it mean complete independence and a total severance of the British connection? (iii) Why did the Congress Ministries resign in 1939? (iv) What has happened to our slogan, "Do or Die"? (v) Why did we condemn Congressmen like Shri Aney and Dr. Khare for accepting jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council?

"Friends! It cannot be argued by those who want a compromise today that the new Executive Council, as envisaged in Lord Wavell's offer, is fundamentally different from the Executive Councils of the past. The Viceroy himself has left no doubts on the matter. He has made it crystal clear that his proposal comes within the four corners of the existing constitution and that his plan does not imply a constitutional change. Further, it is the Viceroy who will *appoint* his Executive Council, and the members of that Council will be responsible to him and not to the Legislature.

"The most appalling position is that in the Executive Council the will of the majority will not prevail, and the Viceroy will have full powers to veto the decisions of that Council. This is the type of freedom and democracy, this is the type of 'new deal' that India is to receive at the hands of Britain. I have to add that though new jobs have been thrown open to us, for example, the Home, External Affairs, and Finance portfolios; nevertheless, the key-position, namely, the War portfolio remains in the hands of the British C-in-C. The War Member will control not only his own Department but on the plea of war requirements, he will exercise effective

control over all the other departments. Whatever the War Member will bring before the Council will, of course, be endorsed by the Viceroy, and all the other Executive Councillors will have to agree to it. The Executive Councillors will be legally bound by their responsibilities to the Viceroy and Governor-General and they will be morally bound by their pledge of wholehearted participation in Britain's war.

"Consequently, Lord Wavell's proposal may best be described, in the words of the late Vithalbhai Patel, as **'Swaraj for the Viceroy,'** but not even *swaraj* for the Executive Council. As to the Department of External Affairs being handed over to an Indian member, I feel that it will prove to be an eye-wash, because the affairs of Indian States, as well as those relating to tribal and frontier affairs, will be outside the jurisdiction of this member. Though there is no question of collective responsibility or majority rule in the new Executive Council and though the Viceroy and Governor-General will remain the same autocrat as before, he has nevertheless to hide his autocracy in the new Executive Council through an ingenious political device or strategy. This stratagem consists in providing for a permanent majority in the Executive Council which will stand by the Viceroy in all circumstances.

"It is, I believe, the intention of Lord Wavell to give to the Muslim League all the seats in the Executive Council reserved for Muslims, if the Muslim League makes that demand. Similarly, he will give to the Congress all the seats reserved for caste Hindus, if the Congress insists. While the members from the other communities will be appointed by Lord Wavell according to his own sweet will, and it goes without saying that these members will be completely subservient to him. It follows, therefore, that if the Viceroy can win over either the Congress bloc or the Muslim League bloc in the Executive Council, then he will have a permanent majority to stand by him at all times. Now the question is, which of the two blocs is likely to sell itself to the Viceroy? It will be difficult for the Congress bloc to do so, because it will then be repudiated by the general public and by the rank and file of the Congress. But it will be possible for the Viceroy to win over the Muslim League bloc to his side by throwing a bait that if they behave like good boys and co-operate wholeheartedly in the war then the British Government will, as a reward, help them to realize their dream of Pakistan. On the other hand, if the Muslim League bloc gives him any trouble, the Viceroy will put out a threat that the British Government will lend its support to the plan of a unified India as against the Pakistan plan.

"In this connection I shall venture the remark that it should be no surprise to anybody if there is already a

secret understanding, whether explicit or tacit, between the British Government and the Muslim League that both of them will make common cause against the Congress in the Executive Council. If the above analysis is correct, as I am sure it is, then it follows that if the Congress accepts the offer, the Congress bloc in the Executive Council will become a permanent minority. Nevertheless, the Congress bloc will be constrained to carry out Britain's war policy in view of the pledge of wholehearted co-operation in the war effort, which is an integral part of the compromise.

"It is, therefore, incumbent on us to consider cooly and dispassionately at this stage what the Congress and the country will gain by accepting the offer, and what the inevitable consequences of such acceptance will be. So far as I can judge, the only thing that the Congress will gain by accepting the offer, will be a few jobs in the Executive Council, but both the British Government and the Muslim League will stand to gain much. So far as the British Government is concerned, it will be able to prosecute the war with the help of the Congress and in the name of the Indian people, and it will thereby be able to exploit the country's resources in men and material much more than ever before. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it will succeed in outwitting the Congress by reducing it to a permanent minority in the Executive Council. The Muslim League will also succeed in realizing its dream of Pakistan with the help of the British Government

"When the British Government once succeeds in achieving her immediate objective, namely, the prosecution of the war through the help of the Congress, it will then have no further need for the co-operation of the Congress. The British Government will then keep off the Congress and openly embrace the Muslim League and bring about the vivisection of India. In the meantime, the Congress will have humiliated and debased itself, and made itself ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world. It would have to trade its fundamental principles and give a go-by to the goal of independence. Further, by fighting Britain's imperialist war, the Congress will have forgotten its revolutionary purposes and lost its spirit of militant nationalism. The Congress will also have committed political suicide by voluntarily accepting the position that it is not the representative of the Indian masses, but is only one party among many parties in India. Last, but not least, by compromising with British imperialism the Congress will have lost the sympathy of freedom-loving men and women all over the world and will also have lost the support of several friendly Powers including Soviet Russia.

"Sisters and brothers! This is what you will lose by accepting Lord Wevell's offer. All that you will gain will be a few jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council for some ambitious Congressmen. I shall not try your patience any further today, but before I close I shall repeat a few salient points from my talk yesterday. Firstly, do not forget what the original motive of Lord Wavell's offer is. That motive is to bamboozle you and get half-a-million Indian troops to fight Britain's war in the Far East; that is, in regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific. Secondly, if you believe in India's independence, then there is no reason to feel disheartend or discouraged because of the recent military successes of our enemies. India's position in the international field has never been so strong as it is today. By a combination of uncompromising resistance at home, armed struggle in East Asia and diplomacy in the international field, we shall win our independence by the end of this war. That will bring real independence, not self-government within the British Empire nor Indianization of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Probably the greatest hindrance to independence has appeared in our life, namely, pessimism and defeatism. The people who fight and shed their blood do not succumb to defeatism. It is the armchair politicians and those who are cowards who easily fall a victim to pessimism and despondency.

"Our *Azad Hind Fauj* has suffered many losses in the recent campaign in Burma, but this has made our determination to fight to the last man and to the last round more intense. The major portion of our army is still intact and will continue fighting. Fortunately, in spite of all the propaganda of the Anglo-Americans, their military position in East Asia is not what they have been trying to make out. In Burma, hard and bitter fighting is still going on and in the rest of East Asia the Anglo-Americans will have to face a long and bitter struggle before any decision can be reached.

"Countrymen! Do not forget our comrades in prison and those who have suffered so much in the cause of independence. Remember also that the Viceroy has ignored all those who have been in prison before 1942, as well as those who were imprisoned from 1942 onwards but not in connection with 'Quit India' disturbances. Last, but most important of all, if you are determined to go on bargaining with the British Government for a compromise, then wait till the British general elections are over. Whether a Labour Cabinet comes into office or a Conservative Cabinet, you will get far better terms if you negotiate after July 5. Lord Wavell will move heaven and earth to come to a settlement of the issue before July 5, because that decision will help the Conservative Party. But you should not fall into the trap he has laid for you.

"Sisters and brothers at home! At this critical hour the destiny of India lies in your hands. Now is your time for starting the 'Quit India' campaign all over the country and thereby making it impossible for anyone to arrive at a compromise. "Jai Hind!"

15. CONSIGN WAVELL'S OFFER TO THE SCRAP-HEAP

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 21, 1945*]

"Sisters and brothers in India! During the last three days I have been speaking to you from a broader point of view, both national and international, and I have also been considering the Indian problem in its proper setting, that is, against the international background. Judging from the reports reaching us through various news agencies it appears that those who are giving vocal expression to their views today are approaching the Indian problem from a very narrow and short-sighted point of view. Most of those who view the Indian problem from the correct point of view cannot easily make their voice heard outside India, particularly because some of them are now in custody. If Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee had insisted on the release of all political prisoners prior to any negotiations with the British Government, then we would have had no cause for anxiety. If the release of all political prisoners had taken place and a full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee been held, then the opinion of the entire Congress organization would have made itself heard. But the British Government, cunning as it is, has deliberately kept the rest of the political prisoners in custody and released only the members of the Congress Working Committee, so that the opinion of the entire Left wing of the Congress Organization may be effectively muffled.

"I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion in India, and in particular the Congress organization, has moved much further in a revolutionary direction since the beginning of the present war in 1939. Consequently, if a plenary session of the Congress were held today or even a full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, Lord Wavell's offer would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. The British Government and Lord Wavell know the Indian situation and they realize that if the British offer had been left to the verdict of Congressmen in general or even to the All-India Congress Committee, then there would not be the slightest chance of its acceptance. They have, therefore, created a situation in which only the members of the Congress

Working Committee will decide about Lord Wavell's offer on behalf of the Congress. According to the Congress constitution, the Working Committee cannot make a final decision on behalf of the Congress on such an all-important issue.

"I am, however, prepared to admit that if the Congress Working Committee had represented all sections of the Congress or if there had been a real emergency, there might have been some moral, though not legal, justification for the Congress Working Committee to handle this all-important issue on its sole responsibility. But, it is well known that the Left Wing of the Congress, which is quite influential, is not represented on the Working Committee at all. And, nobody can maintain that there is such an emergency in the country that the Working Committee is obliged to make a momentous decision behind the back of the All-India Congress Committee and of the rank and file of the Congress. I can understand that the British Government, to achieve its own ends, has manoeuvred in such a way that Lord Wavell's offer has been placed not before the All-India Congress Committee or a plenary session of the Congress, but only before the Congress Working Committee, but I cannot understand why members of the Working Committee are walking into the trap cleverly laid by Lord Wavell. Apart from the provision of the Congress constitution according to which the Working Committee is a mere executive body and not its deliberative or law-making body, from the purely moral point of view it is wrong and unfair for the Working Committee to dispose of a matter which will affect the entire future of the Congress and India for several decades. Even at this late hour, I honestly and humbly appeal to Mahatma Gandhi not to make a decision behind the back of the Congress. I make this appeal particularly because by accepting the Wavell offer we shall be receding from the progress already made and nullifying the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress, and we shall be undoing the work and sacrifices of the Congress over a long period.

"I shall now say a few words as to what will be the effect of accepting Lord Wavell's offer. First and foremost, the goal of the Indian National Congress is complete independence, whereas Lord Wavell's offer scrupulously avoids even mentioning the word independence. Secondly, in 1938-39, the Congress had refused to participate in Britain's imperialist war and the Congress has suffered much because of its anti-war policy. But, the fundamental basis of Lord Wavell's offer is that all those who accept the offer will have to pledge themselves to wholehearted participation in Britain's war in the Far East, and this war cannot be described by any stretch of imagination as a war for the defence of India. Thirdly, acceptance of the offer will mean the rescinding of the 'Quit India' resolution

of 1942. After the acceptance of the offer the Congress will have to give up the slogans, ' Liberty or Death ' and ' Do or Die,' and devise other slogans which will express the ideas embodied in Lord Wavell's offer.

" I should like to know how the Congress can be distinguished from the Indian Liberal Federation if it agrees to give up its fundamental principles and resolutions and accepts the present offer ? As I have stated in my previous talks, under normal circumstances no Congressman would have even looked at Lord Wavell's offer, not to speak of giving consideration to it. The only psychological explanation of the present compromising attitude of several Congress leaders is that they probably feel that the Anglo-Americans are going to win the war and that there is no hope of our achieving our independence. This appreciation of the situation is entirely wrong. In spite of the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans in Europe and Burma, the Indian issue has become a live issue in international affairs. Whatever the ultimate issue of the war in East Asia may be, even the Anglo-Americans have had to admit that the coming campaign in East Asia is going to be a very long and bitter one and that the armed forces of Japan will fight every inch of the ground. Even in Burma, in spite of our recent reverses, bitter fighting is going on in many sectors and in several parts of the country. While Japan will go on fighting with all its strength, tenacity and courage of which Japan is capable, Indians in East Asia will continue their fight against the British and their allies. In spite of the recent losses in Burma, the main force of the *Azad Hind Fauj* remains intact, and the *Azad Hind Fauj* will go on fighting to the last man and to the last round.

"If Indians at home do not give up resistance to British imperialism, nothing can prevent the attainment of India's independence by the end of this war. By a combination of resistance inside India, armed struggle in East Asia and the adoption of a realistic policy in the interntional field, India will certainly emerge as an independent nation by the time this war ends. But, for the achievement of our liberation, internal struggle against the British has to be guranteed. Armed struggle in East Asia I am in a position to guarantee. I can also give this assurance that if resistance to British imperialism is kept up inside India, then India will remain an international issue, and diplomacy in the international field will be able to help our cause considerably. For the present the British do not have much to worry about trouble inside India, but they are nevertheless afraid of two things. They are afraid that if moral resistance inside India continues India will remain an internationa

issue. They are also afraid that if the Indian people remain hostile to the British, it will be impossible for them to obtain adequate help from India in men and resources for the coming campaign in the Far East. The British know that without India's help in a large measure and in particular without the help of India's manpower they cannot win the war in the Far East. Lord Wavell's offer is calculated to kill two birds with one stone: Firstly, the offer is a bait to guarantee India's wholehearted participation in Britain's imperialist war; secondly, it will convert the Indian issue into a domestic issue of the British Empire and thereby bringing about a withdrawal of all help to India by the United Nations including Soviet Russia.

"In this connection I should like to repeat what I said in a statement issued by me on the 19th instant. In that statement I disclosed information received from very reliable sources to the effect that the origin and the basis of Lord Wavell's sinister offer is the demand of the British Government that India should supply half-a-million troops for the coming campaigns in East Asia in regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific. If the British Government could have obtained from India that much needed help without the co-operation of the Indian people, Wavell's offer would in all probability not have seen the light of day. But, the British Indian Army, like the British Army, is war-weary and the British Government and Lord Wavell think that it is now necessary to win public spmpathy and enthusiasm in India in order to obtain military aid in so large a measure.

"Before the members of the Working Committee decide to accept Lord Wavell's offer they should be prepared to sacrifice half-a-million Indian lives for Britain's imperialist war in the Far East. I have envisaged what the Congress stands to lose if it were to accept Lord Wavell's offer. Consequently, before deciding to accept the offer, members of the Working Committee will have to calculate carefully what they will gain thereby and whether that gain will compensate in adequate measure what we shall lose. It stands to reason that if what we gain is much less than what we lose, we should reject that offer as we rejected Sir Stafford Cripps' offer in 1942. There may be Congressmen who think that what we are thinking of doing now, we shall have to do that in the long run. This view is entirely erroneous. I have already remarked in a previous talk that even if the worst happens and India fails to obtain her freedom during the course of the present war, then we shall have another opportunity as soon as the present war comes to an end.

"The change-over from war to peace is a period of unrest. During this period of unrest even a victorious power is at a disadvantage because it needs rest and relaxation. That is why the revolutions of Ireland and Turkey after the First World War, revolutions which failed during the war period attained complete success after the termination of the war.

"On reading a report which is before me today, I find that the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, said: 'If the present nogotiations fail the Congress will wait till the end of the war before launching a further attempt'. I cannot agree with the Congress President that we should not renew the struggle at home while the war is on, but I agree with him that at the end of the war, if India still happens to be enslaved, Indians will again have another opportunity of launching a large-scale offensive against British imperialism, and I have no doubt in my mind that in that post-war campaign the demobilized members of present British-Indian Army will play a very important role.

"Since it is apparent that most of the Indian leaders who are now free are considering Lord Wavell's offer not from the broader but from a very narrow and short-sighted point of view, I shall now consider what our comparative losses and gains would be if we were to accept that offer. What Lord Wavell has offered us if we agree to wholehearted participation in the coming war in the Far East is as follows: (i) The promise of self-government; (ii) some jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council; and (iii) the restoration of Congress Ministries in the Provinces. All these three things have always been before us. The British Government has always promised us self-government. We had eight Ministries under our control in the Provinces in 1939 and these we resigned voluntarily. Jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council have always been open to such Congressmen as were prepared to sell themselves. It may be remarked that the Wavell offer gives us more seats in the Executive Council, but as against that there is an express stipulation that acceptance of the offer will mean wholehearted participation in Britain's war. Was this not the reason why the Congress Ministries resigned in 1939? They could have remained in office after 1939 without giving a pledge of wholehearted participation in the war. But, they preferred to resign rather than sacrifice the country's resources in fighting a war to keep British imperialism alive.

" In Britain many people are waxing eloquent over the merits of the offer on the ground that a considerable advance has been made in the Indianization of the Executive Council. I hope that no Congressman will adopt a similar attitude

because the Congress demand is not Indianization of the services or of the Executive Council, but the withdrawal from India of the British Power, wherein are included the Viceroy, as well as the British Commander-in-Chief. Lord Wavell has in fact made it quite clear that his offer does not imply any constitutional change. Moreover, the newly constituted Viceroy's Council will only be an advisory body and it is the Viceroy who will finally select these members who will be responsible not to the Central Legislature but to the Viceroy personally. Moreover, inside the Executive Council the will of the majority will not prevail and the Viceroy will have full powers to veto recommendations or proposals of the Executive Council. There is no question of collective responsibility or majority rule in the Executive Council. The Executive Council cannot, therefore, be called a Cabinet by any stretch of imagination. In the Executive Council the chief position will be held by the British War Member, namely, the Commander-in-Chief. What the War Member will demand the Viceroy will certainly endorse. Consequently, next to the Viceroy the War Member will be all-powerful. So long as the Viceroy and the C.-in-C. act in concert they will be able to control all the departments. The other Executive Councillors will not be able to object because they will be illegally bound by their responsibility to the Viceroy and they will be morally bound by their pledge of wholehearted participation in the war. The Department of External Affairs, which is to be run by an Indian, will prove to be an eye-wash because foreign affairs will be excluded from its jurisdiction. The Member in charge of this Department will become like the Indian Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council who is in charge of Army canteens.

"I should like to ask those Congressmen who are today so keen about accepting Lord Wavell's offer, with what face we shall go back to the Ministries which we voluntarily gave up in 1939? I should also like to ask why the Congress condemned Mr. Aney and Dr. Khare who accepted jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Conncil, when the Congress is now going to do the same. The more I think of this, the more I am convinced that incalculable harm will be done to the status and prestige of the Congress and to India by accepting this offer. We shall be putting back the clock by at least 25 years. All that we shall gain in return for this wholesale sacrifice of principles will be a few jobs on the Executive Council for some ambitious and power-mad Congressmen.

"I shall now try to show that if the Congress accepts the offer, the British Government and the Muslim League will profit at the expense of the Congress. It is, I believe, the intention of Lord Wavell to give to the nominees of the Muslim

League all the seats in the Executive Council reserved for the Muslims if the Muslim League makes that demand. Similarly, he will give to the Congress all the seats reserved for caste Hindus if the Congress insists. The ermaining members will be appointed by Lord Wavell according to his own sweet will, and it goes without saying that these members will be completely subservient to him. It follows, therefore, that if the Viceroy can win over to his side either the Congress bloc or the Muslim League bloc in the Executive Council, then he will have a permanent majority to stand by him at all times. I take it that the Congress bloc in the Executive Council cannot and will not consent to a pact with the Viceroy, because if it does it will be ridiculed by the rank and file of the Congress. But if the Viceroy throws a bait to the Muslims that the British Government will help them to realize their dream of Pakistan, then there is every likelihood of the Muslim League bloc making a pact with the Viceroy. The moment it is done, the Viceroy will have a permanent minority in the Executive Council to stand by him at all times and the Congress bloc will thereby be reduced to a permanent majority. Nevertheless, the Congress bloc will be constrained to maintain its pledge of wholehearted participation in Britain's war by carrying out the Viceroy's policy. Thus, if the offer is accepted the British Government will profit by prosecuting the war with the help of the Congress and in the name of the Indian people. The Muslim League will also have succeeded in reducing the Congress to a permanent minority in the Executive Council and by realizing its dream of Pakistan with the help of the British Government.

"I have pointed out what we shall lose by accepting the offer. I shall now say something as to what more we shall lose if the Congress co-operates wtth the British Government for a period of time. Firstly, the independence movement as well as the freedom mentality of the Indian people will suffer a serious setback. By fighting Britain's imperialist war the Congress will forget its revolutionary purpose and lose its spirit of militant nationalism. And, lastly, by compromising with British imperialism the Congress will forfeit the sympathy of freedom-loving men and women all over the world and will lose the support of those friendly Powers like Soviet Russia who have full sympathy for our cause and willing to lend us active help.

"Friends, up to today I have been considering Lord Wavell's offer from the purely political point of view but I have not considered its communal implications. But I shall do so now. By accepting the offer, the Congress will incidentally, though it may be indirectly, accept the principle of communalism in politics. It will acknowledge the Muslim

League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims, and it will thereby betray all those Muslim organizations like the Azad Muslim League, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Shia Conference, Majlis-i-Ahrar, Proja Party, Muslim Majlis, All-India Momin Party, etc., that have been following a nationalist line at very great sacrifice. Moreover, the Congress will be forced to admit that the word 'Congress' is synonymous with the word 'caste Hindus' and not even only with the word 'Hindu.'

"I am making this statement on the supposition that the seats reserved by the Viceroy for the caste Hindus will be given to the nominees of the Congress; and those reserved for the Muslims will be given to the nominees of the Muslim League, and that the member or members from Scheduled Caste will be appointed by the Viceroy himself. Now I would like to put a question to Lord Wavell. Amongst the Muslim members of the Executive Council, will he include outstanding Muslims of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who are not members of the Muslim League, and since the vast majority of the Scheduled Caste votes were given to the Congress in the last elections, will the Viceroy leave it to the Congress to put up an Executive Councillor from amongst the Scheduled Caste and not make the selection himself? If he does not do these, then it will be crystal clear that the Viceroy's sinister intention is to reduce the Congress into an organization of the caste Hindus. Let somebody apply this acid test to Lord Wavell. The result of this test will then speak for itself.

"Whatever the other objections to the Viceroy's offer may be, this single objection, namely, the communal implications of it, is enough to condemn that offer and render it totally unacceptable to any nationalist party. The Congress is a national institution representing Indians of all religious faiths and it has fought hard and suffered much to maintain its national character. It will commit veritable suicide if at this stage of its career the Congress were to renounce its national character and accept a communal label. Likewise, it will stultify itself once and for all if it gives up its role as a representative of Indian Nationalism and if it accepts the position of one party among many parties in India. I should like to repeat what I said the day before yesterday that the Conservatives are keen on bringing about a compromise with the Congress and Lord Wavell is anxious to get a decision before July 5. The acceptance will help the Conservative Party considerably at the polls and possibly ensure its return to power. If Lord Wavell succeeds, and the Conservatives fail to return to office, he will then be able to prevent the Labour Cabinet from revising Britain's India policy because the British Government will have already been committed to the Wavell offer. It is likely that if we do not accept his offer

now and the Labour Party comes to power then that Party is bound to take up the Indian issue when he shall be able to get better terms. And, if the Conservative Party returns to office it will also be constrained to make another offer, otherwise India will remain an international issue to the great disadvantage of Britain. But, we will get another chance, and a better chance, of bargaining after the war. I say this for the consideration of only those who are really in favour of a policy of compromise with Britain, and who are not prepared to fight for complete independence.

"In conclusion, let me remind once again, as I said yesterday, that in this fateful hour the destiny of India lies in your hands and the responsibility is exclusively that of the Indian people and not the Congress Working Committee. Therefore, carry on a raging and tearing campaign against this sinister offer and see that this offer is consigned to the scrap-heap before July 5, 1945."

16. REFLECTIONS ON THE WAVELL OFFER

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 22, 1945*]

"Sisters and brothers in India! Latest news reaching us from India is to the effect that the Congress Working Committee decided last night to accept Lord Wavell's invitation to participate in the Simla Conference. To those who are acquainted with the present attitude of the Indian National Congress, this news has not come as a surprise. Referring to the opinion inside the Congress Working Committee, the political correspondent of the *Associated Press of India* has reported as follows: 'The opinion among the Congress leaders about the Viceroy's proposal divides itself into three groups. The first party is led by Mr. Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai, who take strong exception to the use of the term 'Caste Hindus' in the Viceroy's broadcast. The middle group is led by Mr. Nehru and Maulana Azad who, not being satisfied with the quantum of power contemplated to be transferred, take the view that the scheme can be given a fair trial as an interim measure, provided there is sufficient possibility of advancing India's demand for national independence and to improve the lot of the poor. The third group, led by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, feel that the terms of reference of the Simla Conference are so wide and elastic that all fears of the Congress are groundless. They advocate that the Congress should accept the proposal without picking holes in it and give it a fair trial and thus demonstratate the determination of the Congress to get on with the business.

"I cannot judge from this distance if the analysis of the political correspondent of the *Associated Press of India* is correct or not, but I would not be surprised if it is. In fact this analysis conforms with what I said yesterday about the political character of the present Congress Working Committee. It appears that the Radical Democratic Party has condemned the Simla Conference on the ground that Labour representatives have not been invited to the Conference. Judging from the analysis of the political correspondent of the *Associated Press of India* the opinion of the Radical Democratic Party on this question is not supported by any member of the Congress Working Committee. The argument seems to be that even while agreeing to accept the invitation to the Simla Conference, the Working Committee has not committed itself in any way. But, this argument cannot seriously be accepted because the offer as it stands and the implications of its acceptance are clear. Everybody who attends this Conference will have to accept the policy of wholehearted participation in the coming campaign in East Asia, and the Congress will have to repudiate the policy it laid down regarding participation in the war when the Congress Ministries resigned office in 1939. Moreover, everybody attending this Conference will have to accept the present constitutional position of the Viceroy and Governor-General in the Executive Council and will have to accept the humiliating position of functioning as mere advisers and not responsible ministers. Lord Wavell has made no secret of this and in fact he has made it quite clear that it is he who will appoint the members of the Executive Council. So, the members of the Executive Council will be responsible not to the Legislature but to him, and there is no question of majority rule or of collective responsibility in the Executive Council. Consequently, everybody who attends the Simla Conference will have to give up the demand for independence. They will have to give up also the usual demand for a National Government at the Centre, responsible to the Legislature, and will have to be content with Indianization of the Executive Council functioning within the framework of the 1935 Act. Presently, there can be no doubt whatsoever that acceptance of the invitation to the Simla Conference after all this will amount to giving up the fundamental principles and policies of the Indian National Congress, including the 'Quit India' resolution for which so many of our brethren and comrades are still rotting in prisons. Moreover, it is very unfortunate and painful that not a single member of the Congress Working Committee has put forward the demand for the release of all political prisoners, prior to negotiating with the British Government, although many of them have issued statements dealing with certain points in Lord Wavell's offer.

"I said in my talk yesterday that the Working Committee is an executive body and is not constitutionally empowered to decide the destiny of so many million people and to commit the country to a course of action which is contrary to the fundamental ideals and policy of the Congress. Since the Working Committee does not represent all sections within the Congress and since there is no agreement on this question inside the country, there is no moral—not to speak of legal -- justification for the Working Committee to deliberate on such vital issues behind the back of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress as a whole. There is also no justification for the Working Committee to accept on its own responsibility the invitation to the Simla Conference especially when the whole offer is contrary to the fundamental principles and policy of the Congress.

"I beg and implore Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee, even at this late hour, to pause and ponder over this great responsibility which they are taking upon themselves by ignoring the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress on such a momentous occasion. I fail to understand why the Working Committee should act in such an unfair manner. That Lord Wavell and the British Government are in a hurry I can understand. They are acting under there motives, firstly, Lord Wavell and the British Government know that the Indian people are overawed by the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans and that the Indian people are at last beginning to realise that the Anglo-Americans are bound to win this war. Lord Wavell and the British Government want to exploit this psychological moment and strike while the iron is hot. They are afraid that after a few months the whole world will realize that despite the collapse of Germany the overthrow of Japan in the Far East is not an easy proposition. Secondly, Lord Wavell and the British Government must somehow bamboozle these leaders and secure at least 500,000 Indian troops and vast quantities of military supplies for Britain's imperialist war in the Far East. Thirdly, Lord Wavell and the British Government must come to some agreement with the Indian leaders before July 5, when the general elections in England will commence. All these three motives afford sufficient explanation as to why Lord Wavell and the British Government are in a beastly hurry. But that is no reason why the Congress Working Committee should fall into their trap. In this connection I would like to repeat what I said previously as to why Lord Wavell is moving heaven and earth in order to come to an agreement with the Indian leaders before July 5.

"Though the Labour Party has agreed to the terms of Lord Wavell's offer, the main responsibility of putting

through that offer rests with the Conservative Party who are in a majority in the present Government. If, therefore, Lord Wavell succeeds in arriving at an agreement with the Indian leaders, it will be an achievement for the Conservative Party, and will help to swell the votes of the Conservative Party's candidates at the polls and thereby help the return of that party to power. If, in spite of Lord Wavell's success, the Conservative Party fails to secure a majority and if the Labour Party is returned to office the Conservative Party will at least be able to prevent the reopening of the Indian issue by the Labour Cabinet. If, on the other hand, Lord Wavell fails, his failure which will be the Conservative Party's failure, will help the Labour Party at the polls. The Labour Cabinet will then have to take up the Indian issue again, because in the domain of foreign affairs the Labour Cabinet must justify itself by achieving something which the Conservative Party failed to do. And, if in spite of the failure of Simla Conference the Conservative Party returns to power, it will be forced to reopen the Indian issue. If the Conservative Party is back in office, and if the deadlock in India continues, the Indian question will remain an international issue, and the Indian issue will have to be brought up before the international conferences of the future including the Big Three conferences then to be held.

"Now I want my countrymen to understand that the Conservative Party will do everything possible to prevent the Indian issue being brought up before an international conference. Ultimately, there is no doubt whatsoever that if Lord Wavell's offer is turned down by us, as I hope it will be, there will be another opportunity for bargaining with the British Government after the general elections, no matter which party secures the majority on the 5th of July. The fact that a long and bitter campaign in the Far East lies ahead of the British Government is an additional guarantee that Britain will have to placate India.

"I want to make it clear before I proceed further that there is no question of bargaining except that the British quit India. But, since there are so many Indians at home who are thinking in terms of a compromise with British imperialism, it is their duty to consider when and how to make this bargain. On this point I am quite sure that the best time for bargaining is after July 5, and though there is very little hope of the Labour Party recognizing India's independence, it would be possible to strike a better bargain with that Party. A compromise with the British Government on the issue of Lord Wavell's offer can be justified only on two conditions. First, if there had been no chance of winning independence. Secondly,

if this had been the last chance for arriving at a compromise with the British Government. As to the first condition, I may say that in spite of the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans, India has now a better chance of achieving her independence than ever before. As to the second condition, I will repeat that no matter which party in Britain is called upon to form a Cabinet, India will get another chance and a better chance of bargaining with the British Government after July 5.

"In my view there are three factors, the immediate effects of which will help India to win her independence by the end of this war. They are (i) resistance to British imperialism inside India; (ii) armed struggle against the British outside India; and (iii) diplomacy in the international field. Even moral resistance inside India will be enough. India must remain an international issue, and our diplomacy in the international field should be directed towards mobilising support for Indian independence. India must take the assistance—moral and material—of those nations which are fighting Britain and are, therefore, her enemies. So far as armed struggle is concerned, in spite of our recent reverses in Burma the main forces of the *Azad Hind Fauj* will not give up the struggle. We shall continue fighting, and we shall fight to the last man and to the last round. We in East Asia can take a much more objective view of the war situation than our countrymen at home, who are easily misled by British propaganda, and have begun to believe in an exaggerated view of the strength of the Anglo-American powers. If our countrymen at home believe in our word they should accept our reading of the war situation and change the policy of the Congress in accordance with this.

"Those Congressmen who are thinking of accepting Lord Wavell's offer should look ahead and prepare themselves for the day when they will have to provide half-a-million Indian troops as cannon-fodder for Britain's imperialist war in East Asia, and they should also be prepared for fighting their own countrymen in the *Azad Hind Fauj*, who are prepared to fight the British wherever they happen to meet them. Even if these Congressmen are not ashamed to take up arms against their brothers and sisters in the *Azad Hind Fauj* they should at least refuse to provide half-a-million Indian lives as cannon-fodder for the perpetuation of the British Empire. To those who doubt that India can achieve her independence by the end of this war, I should like to say that **India will never get another opportunity like this for fighting for her freedom.** As soon as the war ends in the complete victory of the Axis Powers, as it inevitably will, India will become free and be able to take her proper place in the New World Order which will replace the Anglo-American domination of Asia. And, even if Japan

were to lose, India will have another opportunity of bargaining with Britain. But, to agree to the mass-slaughter of our youth and the waste of our material resources in fighting Britain's imperialist war will be a criminal folly. My appeal to you, therefore, is to reject the Wavell offer and continue your struggle till the end of the war and then choose your course of action in the light of circumstances. I earnestly appeal to Congress leaders not to be stampeded into a compromise."

17. REJECT THE WAVELL OFFER

[*Broadcast over the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND RADIO, SINGAPORE, on June 23, 1945.*]

"Sisters and brothers in India! Yesterday I told you that in any case it is wrong according to the Congress constitution and also morally unfair for the Congress Working Committee, which is an exclusive body, to exceed its powers and make decisions on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee or the Congress. I should have added, it is also unwise and impolitic for the Working Committee to do so. To an outside observer it appears as if the Working Committee was acting with indecent haste. I feel contrained to say that as compared with Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee, Mr. Jinnah acted wisely and cautiously. He declared, according to the report before me that he could not advise the representatives of the Muslim League to attend the Simla Conference until after his interview with Lord Wavell on the 24th. Whatever Mr. Jinnah's inner motives might have been, he did not show any anxiety to jump at the offer made by Lord Wavell. Mr. Jinnah took another prudent and cautious step in asking Lord Wavell to postpone the conference.

"I think that if the Congress Working Committee had also asked for and insisted on a postponement of the Simla Conference, then Lord Wavell's hand would have been forced. However, it is good that the Congress Working Committee has decided to meet before and during the Simla Conference to make a final decision. It would have been another unwise step if some of the members of the Working Committee had proceeded to Simla in order to be available for giving necessary advice to Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress representatives at Simla. If this had been done, it would have shown indecent eagerness on the part of the Working Committee to grab at the British offer. Now some time has been gained, and I hope that before the final decision is taken on behalf of the Congress, a meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee will be summoned. There should

be no acceptance of the Wavell Offer purely on the decision of the Working Committee on the ground that several members of the All-India Congress Committee are in prison. If Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee insist on it then the Viceroy will have to order their release and to come to terms with the Congress on this point. If the Viceroy refuses to release the members of the All-India Congress Committee, his *bona fides* will then be open to question.

"By urging that the All-India Congress Committee should be summoned in order to consider Lord Wavell's offer, I do not suggest that that body, as it is at present constituted, is the sole custodian of our national conscience. Owing to the decisions taken of late by the supreme executive of the Congress against those members of the All-India Congress Committee who were agitating against the actions of the Working Committee in agreeing to a compromise with Britain, even the All-India Congress Committee has to some extent lost its representative character. Was it not infamous and ridiculous for the Congress High Command to take disciplinary action against those veterans who were insisting on a struggle with British Imperialism, and on the other hand, let off scot-free those Congressmen like C. Rajagopalachari, who were consistently advocating in public a policy virtually amounting to unconditional co-operation with the British Government? Was it not unfair and ridiculous to make Shri Bhulabhai Desai the leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly when he did not play his part during the last Civil Disobedience movement? Be that as it may, why I insist that the All-India Congress Committee and not the Congress Working Committee should decide this all-important question is not because the former is not full of differences but because it will be at least constitutionally correct and proper. The issue is one which affects the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress, and in particular the Congress goal of complete independence, and therefore it is only just and proper that the dicision should be taken by the direct representatives of the people.

"I have already said that unless Mahatma Gandhi is exceedingly careful he might be outmanoeuvred by the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah into a position in which the Congress will nominate the members of the Executive Council for only those seats which have been reserved by the Viceroy for the caste Hindus. In other words there is every danger that Mahatma Gandhi might be manoeuvred into a position in which he will make a hasty admission that the word 'Congress' is synonymous with the word 'Caste Hindus.' That would be the political death of the Indian National Cong-

ress, from which it will be impossible for the Congress to retrieve itself.

"This danger could be avoided if the Congress representatives to the Simla Conference submit a panel of names concerning all the seats, barring that of the Commander-in-Chief. Will the Congress representatives do so? I am glad to find that the Working Committee has been thinking along these lines. But it is not enough to think. Congress representatives will have to insist that the Viceroy give up altogether the religious and communal basis for the composition of the Executive Council, and adopt a political and national basis instead. We must not forget what the difficulties before us are. I have always been of the view that as in a peace conference, so also in a political round table conference, it is only belligerent parties who are entitled to participate. That the British have now agreed to the partial Indianization of the Executive Council as a stepping stone to other far-reaching changes is not because of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, but because of the Congress which has consistently fought the British Government with all the means at its disposal.

"At the time of the Round Table Conference in 1931, I pointed out that it was only the Congress and those who fought with the Congress, who were entitled to represent India at the Round Table Conference held in London. I reminded my countrymen on that occasion that Ireland, where the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George wanted to outmanoeuvre the Sinn-Fein Party by summoning a national convention representing all Irish parties, the Sinn-Fein Party refused to attend the convention because in their view such a convention did not represent Ireland. The Sinn-Fein Party continued its fight and the day ultimately arrived when the British were forced to hold a Round Table Conference with only the representatives of the Sinn-Fein Party. In our case, we should never forget that it is only those who have fought the British Government who are entitled to speak for India and represent India at a Round Table Conference with the representatives of Britain. After all, the importance of the Muslim League is due largely to the fact that it has the backing of the British Government. By giving undue importance to the Muslim League, the Congress is betraying its old friends in such nationalist organizations as the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Majlise Ahrar, Khudai-Khidmatgars, Azad Muslim League, Shia Conference, Praja Party, All-India Momin Party, etc., in addition to a large and influential section of Muslims in the Indian National Congress who have stood for National independence at very great sacrifice.

"From reports coming from India, it appears that opposition to Lord Wavell's offer has been voiced from several

platforms: Unfortunately, this opposition is not being pooled together. In 1940 when there was a danger that the Congress was drifting towards a compromise with British imperialism, we held an All-India anti-compromise conference at Ramgarh in order to rally all the radical elements in India's public life. A similar conference should be held now and without delay. It would be highly beneficial if an all-India anti-Wavell conference could be held now to fight, organise and combine opposition to Lord Wavell's offer. On behalf of this conference, whose meetings would be held all over India on a particular day, resolutions should be passed giving expression to India's real opinion about Lord Wavell's offer and it would be good idea to celebrate an 'All-India Anti-Wavell Day' on July 5, when the general elections in England will be held.

"Here in East Asia, we are going to have a celebration on July 4. The 4th of July is known all over the world as the day of American independence. In East Asia it is the day on which the Indian Independence League in East Asia was imbued with new light and commenced a new phase in its career. Celebrations on July 4, which will be held all over East Asia wherever there are Indians, will be in the nature of a referendum. We shall call upon Indians in East Asia on that day to give their verdict on Lord Wavell's offer, and if that verdict be one of condemnation to renew then and there our determination to continue the armed struggle for India's freedom under all circumstances, even if the Congress Working Committee were to accept Lord Wavell's offer.

"Sisters and brothers at home! I shall now close for the day. On Monday the 25th I shall address a special talk for the revolutionaries in India, giving my directions as to what they should do in the event of the Congress Working Committee accepting Lord Wavell's offer. Viceroys may come and Viceroys may go, but India will continue to live and India's fight for freedom will ultimately succeed."

"Jai Hind!"

18. NO COMPROMISE WITH BRITAIN*

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 24, 1945.*]

"Friends! After nearly six months I stand before you again to speak to you on the present situation and our future task. I am sorry that I cannot bring you good news from Burma. After our failure to take Imphal last year, the enemy was able to advance into Burma. While the main force of the enemy was held up by the forces of the Imperial

Summary of a speech delivered by Netaji at a mass rally of Indians in Singapore on June 24, 1945. This summary was broadcast to listeners in India by the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind Radic Station' the same night.

Japanese Army and the Indian National Army, advanced mechanized units of the enemy consisting of tanks, armoured-cars, etc., were able to break through our defences and threaten our headquarters. We had to decide whether we should keep our headquarters there, inviting attacks from the enemy's advanced mechanized units, or withdraw to a safer place. It was not easy for us to withdraw from the danger zone in Rangoon leaving behind our comrades of the *Azad Hind Fauj* fighting at the front. But, after very careful consideration, the Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind unanimously decided that, owing to certain reasons, we should withdraw to a safer place.

"After we left Rangoon, it was still possible for us to keep our headquarters in Burma, as the Burma Government, the Government of Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw, did. But that was also not considered advisable in the interests of India. The present position in Burma is that fighting is going on in all parts of the country in the Shan States, in the Toungoo area, near Prome, and in the Arakan. The main force of the enemy is still being held up, and nobody can say how long the fight will go on, or when the enemy will succeed in capturing Burma. Though the strength of the *Azad Hind Fauj* is small compared to the Japanese Army, our comrades of *Azad Hind Fauj* are fighting valiantly under very difficult conditions. Our main force is with our comrades who are now fighting in Burma, but we had to withdraw our headquarters from Burma, leaving our army in charge of the newly organized Burma Command of which Major-General Loganadhan is the Commander with Lieut.-Col. Arshad as his Chief of Staff.

"The Provisional Government had to withdraw its headquarters from Burma in order to organize its forces outside Burma and continue the fight on other fronts. If we had no other forces outside Burma then in all probability we would have remained with our comrades in Burma and fought to the last, facing any situation that would have arisen thereafter. There was another reason which persuaded us to withdraw our headquarters from Burma. It was clear to us that after his recent military successes the enemy would launch a new military and political offensive on other fronts, and it was necessary for us to prepare in time for that offensive and meet it when it was launched.

"Our misfortune was that the crisis in Burma came almost simultaneously with the crisis in Europe. The enemy took full advantage of it, and immediately launched a political offensive directed towards India. That political offensive was Lord Wavell's offer.

"The motives behind Lord Wavell's offer are principally two in number; firstly, to extract help from India for the future war in East Asia, and, secondly, to reach a compromise with the Indian people and thereby make India a domestic issue of the British Empire. The British had to produce men, money and material in large quantities to help America in the future war against Japan. But the British Army and also the British-Indian Army is war-weary and does not want to face a long campaign in the Far East, under conditions much more difficult than in Europe. Therefore, the required cannon-fodder could be obtained only from India. But, unless the full strength and resources of the Indian people is mobilized and their enthusiasm roused, the British can never obtain from India the manpower they need for the future war in East Asia. The other motive behind Lord Wavell's offer is to make India a domestic issue of the British Empire and thereby prevent friendly foreign powers from intervening on behalf of India's independence. The Allied Powers have talked so much about freedom and democracy for all nations that the enslaved nations of the world have begun to take full advantage of this in working for their own independence. Syria and the Lebanon are examples of this. The remark made by the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Molotov, at the San Francisco Conference. while acknowledging the credentials of the Indian representatives, and his statement that the day is not far off when the voice of Free India will be heard in the world was given as a warning to Britain. The British Government realized that if there is no compromise with the Indian people, India would remain an international issue and it would be open to friendly foreign powers to intercede on behalf of India's independence, even if the Indian people did not take up arms against the British Government.

"If you want to understand Britain's future aims in India, you have only to remember that Britain is determined to prevent friendly foreign powers from espousing the cause of India's independence. Our policy should, therefore, be to prevent the British from making India a domestic issue of the British Empire, by preventing any understanding between India and Britain which is not on the basis of India's complete independence.

"Several years before the outbreak of this World War, when the League of Nations was in existence, the late Vithalbhai Patel and myself went to Geneva with the object of bringing India's demand for independence before the League of Nations. At that time we failed because no member of the League of Nations wanted to offend Britain by advocating India's independence before that body. But conditions have changed considerably since then. And now there is a better

chance of bringing India's case for independence before the bar of world opinion. The fact that Japan and eight other friendly Powers have recognized India's independence by formally recognizing the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has strengthened India's position considerably before the whole world.

"Before I deal with Lord Wavell's offer, I want to say something about the world situation. As I predicted six months ago, the collapse of Germany has brought about an acute conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans. At the present moment they have patched up their differences in Europe, but that is only superficial and is a preparation for a real show-down in Asia. Moreover, in spite of differences temporarily patched up, the fundamental differences between the two sides still remain and they are irreconcilable. The result of the German collapse has been that Soviet power and influence in Europe has increased very much more than that of the Anglo-American Powers.

"America is now concentrating on the war against Japan and is demanding adequate help from Britain. In my personal opinion, in a future war in East Asia two main battles will be fought. One is on the mainland of Japan, and the other in China. I cannot say at the present moment which battle will come first, but there is no doubt that Japan is fully prepared for both these main battles. I know also that in every part of East Asia the armed forces of Japan are organized on a self-sufficient basis. Consequently, if there is a setback in one theatre of war that will not affect the fighting strength of Japan's armed forces in another theatre. The Anglo-Americans know fully well that a long and bitter struggle is ahead of them. In this connection it is interesting to note what a distinguished British Commander, General Slim of the British 14th Army who fought in Burma recently, said the other day in an interview in England. He remarked that though many nations talk of fighting to the last, there is only one nation that actually does so and that is Japan. While Japan will go on fighting under all circumstances, we will also do the same for the sake of India's independence, and the *Azad Hind Fauj* will fight to the last man and to the last round.

"In my personal opinion, I doubt very much if the coming conference between Marshal Stalin, President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill to deal with the problems of East Asia can come to anything. I do not think that the problem of China can be successfully tackled in view of the strained relations between Chungking and Yenan and in view of America's ambitions in China. I do not see how these three Powers can come to an agreement about China. I am of the opinion that it is easier for the Yenan Government to

come to an agreement with Nanking than with Chungking. So long as Chungking is dominated by America I do not see how the unification of China will be possible. So far as Japan is concerned, her new policy in China and her promise to withdraw troops from China on the termination of hostilities have made it clear that Japan will welcome the unification of China, and her only interest is and always has been, that Anglo-American power and influence is kept out of China. Every Indian has only goodwill towards China and wants to see a strong and unified China progressing along the lines laid down by China's great leader, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. A free Asia is not possible without a free China and a free India.

"In spite of our recent reverses in Burma, our optimism and our confidence in our final victory remains unimpaired. India's independence can be won by the end of this war, because of three principal factors; firstly, our armed struggle in East Asia, secondly, diplomacy in the international field: and, thirdly, resistance inside India. It goes without saying that the greater the resistance inside India, the less time will it take for us to win our independence. But even if resistance inside India is only moral in character, India will remain an international issue and there will be ample scope for discussion in the international field. The most important problem for us is to continue the bitter struggle against the British in East Asia. This will have a two-fold effect in that it will influence the cause of India and it will also help to purge our countrymen at home of the defeatist mentality which is the result of successful enemy propaganda. Secondly, it would tend to reveal our rightful claim before the world, and enable us to secure the support of friendly Powers. To continue the armed struggle we must keep our confidence in our final victory. In this connection I want to refer to what the Allied Supreme Commander in the last World War, Marshal Foch, wrote in his memoirs. Talking of victory and defeat, Marshal Foch said: 'That enemy is beaten which considers itself to be beaten. So long as an army does not consider itself to be beaten, defeat in any particular area does not mean real defeat.' The British, for example, were expelled from Burma in 1942, but they have managed to re-enter Burma. Who can say that we shall not recapture in Burma what we have lost. When we were withdrawing from Burma I reminded my comrades of the above remarks of Marshal Foch, and I pointed out that we were not beaten by any means, because not one of us felt that he was beaten, or that the battle was lost.

"A true revolutionary is one who never acknowledges defeat, who never feels depressed or disheartened. A true revolutionary believes in the justice of his cause and is confi-

dent that his cause is bound to prevail in the long run. Though we have lost the first round in the battle of Burma, I find that we have been able to influence even the enemy. After entering Burma the enemy was able to see and hear something of the work of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. Previously, the enemy used always to refer to us as the "Japanese Puppet Army." After entering Burma he began to call us the 'Japanese-inspired Indian National Army.' But now they refer to us as Indian National Army. When the British took Mandalay they issued an order that no Indian was to use the greeting *Jai Hind* which, as you know, means 'Victory to India'. The result of this order was that boys and girls of our *Balak-Sena* in Mandalay came out in the streets and greeted British Officers with *Jai Hind*. Our point is that if we go on fighting bravely and shedding our blood, we shall not only be able to influence our countrymen, who are indifferent and lukewarm, but we shall also be able to impress the enemy.

"I shall now come back to Lord Wavell's offer. That offer contains three principal points: Firstly, a promise of self-government within the British Empire; secondly, more seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council, and, thirdly, restoration of the Ministries in the Provinces. There is nothing in this offer, which can commend itself to any nationalist Indian, and under normal circumstances not a single Congressman would have even looked at that offer. Firstly, the British have been always promising self-government. Secondly, since the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are responsible to the Viceroy and nobody else, more seats on that Council do not mean any advance towards our appointed goal of independence. Furthermore, the Viceroy will have the power of veto and so he will be able to turn down any decision of the Executive Council, even if it is unanimous. In short, the Viceroy's Executive Council will not function as Cabinet but as an advisory body, the power remaining in the hands of the Viceroy.

Thirdly, the restoration of Ministries in the provinces has no importance because the Congress Ministries in eight provinces voluntarily resigned in 1939 since they were opposed to participation in Britain's war.

"Unfortunately for us the Indian leaders who are now outside prison have been so overawed by the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans that they have developed a defeatist mentality. That is why Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee have decided to attend the Viceroy's Conference at Simla on the 25th when Lord Wavell's offer will be discussed. We are now doing what is

possible to persuade our countrymen at home not to accept Lord Wavell's offer, and thereby make the Simla Conference a failure. If we fail in this and if the Congress accepts the offer of entering the Viceroy's Executive Council we shall then find created a situation inside India whereby the Congress will be forced to resign from the Executive Council. We are determined to prevent a compromise between India and Britain, so that India may remain an international issue, so as to enable us to work for the complete independence of India.

"Our task in East Asia is a two-fold one. Firstly, to continue the armed struggle which we launched on the 4th February 1943; secondly, to agitate for Indian independndce in the international field and to utilize every conflict within the camp of the so-called United Nations, and in particular the conflict between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans. For our fight in East Asia, Malaya is our base. So long as the British are kept out of Malaya, our work for India's independence will continue uninterrupted. Therefore, if at any time the British try to land in Malaya we will fight with all the strength that we have.

"When the history of Indian independence is finally written, Indians in Malaya will have a glorious place in that history. The contribution of Indians in Malaya for India's struggle for freedom in men, money and material has been great. India will always remain grateful for the same. In particular, Malaya has been the birth-place of the *Azad Hind Fauj* and of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Malaya has contributed a large number of youngmen who have fought bravely and died for India's freedom, and Malaya has made the largest contribution to the ranks of the 'Rani of Jhansi Regiment'. Indians in Malaya must maintain the brilliant record that they have already set up. It is from Malaya that the call for total mobilization first went out.

"Today I want to appeal to you for more men, more money and more material. After our most recent reverses in Burma your responsibility has become greater. Knowing what you have done in the past I have no doubt that you will do even more in the future. I only want you to keep up your faith in the justice of our cause. So long as you keep up this faith you will also keep up your optimism and your confidence in final victory.

"Jai Hind."

19. BRITAIN'S BURMA POLICY

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 25, 1945*]

"The first stage in the gradual disillusionment of the people of Burma has been reached. As a compensation for the loss of their newly won independence, the Burmese people have been presented with a new Bill which is now before the British Parliament. This Bill is accompanied by the usual vague promise of self-government for the future. For the present, the only possible thing that Burma will get will be an Executive Council which will be responsible, not to the Burmese people or their Legislature, but to the Governor himself. A few officials and non-officials and some Britishers will be given seats in the Executive Council. There will be a debating society in the shape of a legislature, which will have no control over the Governor or his Executive Council, and which will serve as an entertainment to those who love to talk.

"If the British think that the people of Burma, who have had a taste of independence, however short-lived, will be deceived by such tricks then I must say that they have learnt nothing since they were driven out of East Asia. It goes without saying that the disillusionment which has begun to overtake the Burmese people will be complete when they finally realize that the British promise of self-government, not of independence, is nothing more than similar promises made in the past. I have no doubt in my mind that when complete disillusionment ultimately overtakes them, the Burmese people will turn against their British rulers with the weapons that they recently secured when they were enjoying their independence.

"It is very interesting to note in this connection that there is no talk whatsoever of a national army for Burma Independent Burma had an army of its own, however small. it might have been. But under the benign scheme of their British liberators, the Burmese people will not have an army of their own. If the British think that this will not be noted by the Burmese people, then they are living in a fool's paradise. What is adding to the general disillusionment that is stepping in, is the provisional order issued by the British military authorities in Burma which virtually abolishes, without any compensation, the prevailing currency. It is well known that whenever there is a change of government in any country in the world the new government accepts for a certain period of time the prevailing currency at par until a change-over to the new currency takes place. In a way I am glad that the British

authorities in Burma have issued this order abolishing the prevailing currency, because it will bring acute economic distress to the Burmese people and thereby help more than anything else to rouse their resentment and indignation.

"The proposals made by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for Burma, and Prime Minister Churchill have truly proved to be of the worst order. I hope and trust that they will go on making similar blunders so that the revolution that is inevitable in Burma will come sooner than one might expect today. While the bill that is now before Parliament takes Burma politically back to the year 1909, on the economic side the British Government has assured Burma of a return to the *status quo ante* that is, to the exploitation of Burma by the Burma Oil Company, Burma Corporation, and so many other British firms. That the Burmese people would welcome a return to their pre-war economic status can be believed only by one who has taken leave of his senses.

"According to London reports, the Labour Party has given its support the other day to this measure sponsored by the Coalition Cabinet. This is a further proof, if such proof is needed, that with regard to dependent countries like India and Burma there is no difference between the policy of the Conservative Party and that of the Labour Party. Those Indians who still think that the advent of the Labour Party to power will bring an advantage to India should take a leaf out of Burma's experience. Speaking for myself, I may say that I hope and trust that the Conservative Party will be returned to power, so that under the lashes of British imperialism the people of India may come out in open revolt in order to break once for all the shackles of slavery."

20. CO-OPERATION WITH JAPAN

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 26, 1945*]

"India is now facing a political crisis, and if a wrong step is taken we might suffer a setback in our march towards independence. I cannot tell you how worried I feel today, because on the one hand, independence is within sight, while on the other if a wrong step is taken that independence may recede into the distance. At the outset, let me tell you that enemy propaganda in India has been so successful that influential leaders, who were once convinced that independence was within our grasp, and who were determined to do or die in order to win that independence, are now thinking in terms of **becoming members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.**

"We, who are outside India at this critical juncture, can take a much more objective view of the entire world situation than most of our countrymen at home. It is, therefore, our duty to tell you frankly what we think, and to advise you accordingly. After we withdrew our headquarters from Rangoon it was open to us to move to another place inside Burma, just as the Government of Independent Burma did at a time when our troops were still fighting inside Burma. But we hoped that the enemy would immediately exploit his recent military successes in Europe and in Burma, and launch a new political and military offensive. Consequently, we should be ready to meet that offensive, and we should be at a place from where we could speak to India if necessary. That is the principal reason why I am in Shonan or Singapore today.

"The crisis that faces India today has arisen because some influential sections among our countrymen, who only three years ago were shouting 'Liberty or Death,' are now prepared to enter into a compromise with the British Government on Lord Wavell's own terms. This attitude is altogether mistaken and unjustified for two reasons. Firstly, there can be no compromise over the question of independence. Secondly, the situation is not what these countrymen of ours think, and if we continue our resistance to British imperialism we shall win our independence by the end of this war.

"If among those who are listening to me now there is any. one who has any doubts as to whether I am in close touch with what is happening all over the world he can himself judge from one simple fact. He must have noticed from my talks during the last week that I am in intimate touch with daily developments inside India, and if I am in touch with daily developments at home, I can easily be in touch with what is happening all over the world. On the other hand. for those who are inside India and who cannot see what is happening in that part of the world that is not dominated by the Anglo-Americans, and who are victims of enemy propaganda, it is difficult to form an objective opinion of the entire world situation.

"Today, the whole world is in the melting pot, and India's destiny is bound up to some extent with what is happening all over the world. Now, why am I so optimistic at a time when some of our prominent leaders have developed a defeatist mentality? It is because of two principal reasons. Firstly, we are carrying on an armed struggle against the British and their allies, and we are not pessimistic about the present situation in East Asia, in spite of our recent reverses in Burma. Secondly, India has become an international issue, and if that issue is not converted into a domestic issue of the British Empire,

India's case will come up before the bar of world opinion. Can't you see with your own eyes or hear with your own ears how Syria and the Lebanon are exploiting the war situation to their advantage, by creating a split within the camp of the so-called United Nations? We are no less intelligent or less far-sighted than the leaders of Syria and the Lebanon. But, if we want to bring the Indian issue before the bar of world opinion we have to do two things; firstly, we have to prevent any compromise with British Imperialism; and, secondly, we have to assert India's right to freedom with arms.

"If our countrymen at home cannot take up arms, and if they cannot even continue civil disobedience against Britain's war effort, let them at least keep up their moral resistance to British Imperialism and refuse to come to any compromise. We shall continue to assert India's right to freedom with arms, and so long as we do so no power on earth can prevent India remaining an internatonal issue, provided you do not let us down by compromising with the British Government.

"I understand that some of the leaders at home are furious with me for opposing their plans for a compromise with the British Government. They are also furious with me for pointing out the blunders of the Congress Working Committee and the Congress; and they are furious with me for pointing out that the Congress Working Committee does not represent national opinion in the Congress or in the country. These imperialist leaders are abusing me for taking the help of the Japanese. **I am not ashamed of taking the help of Japan. My co-operation with Japan is on the basis that Japan recognizes India's complete independence, and it has already granted formal recognition to the 'Provisional Government of Azad Hind' or Free India.** But those who now want to co-operate with the British Government and fight Britain's imperialist war are prepared to accept the position of subordinates responsible to Britain's Viceroy in India. If their leaders co-operate with the British Government on the basis that Britan grants formal recognition to the Government of Free India that would be a different matter. Moreover, Japan has given us the arms with which to organize an army of our own with which we can fight British imperialism which is our sole enemy. This army, the *Azad Hind Fauj*, has been trained by Indian instructors using the Indian language. This army carries India's national flag, and its slogans are India's national slogans. This army has its own Indian officers and its own officers' training schools run entirely by Indians. And, in the field of battle this army fights under its own Indian commanders some of whom have

now reached the rank of Generals. If this army is called a 'puppet army', then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a 'puppet army', because it is fighting Britain's Imperialist war under British officers. Am I to believe that in an army of 2,500,000 only a microscopic number of Indians are found fit to obtain the highest honour in the British army, namely, the Victoria Cross. Not one single Indian has yet been found fit to hold the rank of General.

"Comrades! I have said that I am not ashamed to seek the help of Japan. I can go forward and say that **if the almighty British Empire can go down on its knees in order to obtain the help of the United States of America, there is no reason why we, an enslaved and disarmed nation, should not take help from our friends.** Today we are taking the help of Japan, tomorrow we shall not hesitate to get help from any other Power if that be possible, and if that be desirable in the interests of India. *Nobody will be more happy than myself if we could achieve India's independence without foreign help of any sort. But I have yet to find one single instance, in modern history, where an enslaved nation has achieved its liberation without foreign help of any sort.* And, for an enslaved India it is much more honourable to join hands with the enemies of the British Empire than to curry favour with British leaders or British political parties. **Our whole difficulty is that we do not hate our enemies enough, and our leaders are always eager to help India's enemy.**

"Is it not ridiculous that some of our leaders spout anti-imperialist venom abroad while shaking hands with imperialism at home? Comrades! I would never have opened my mouth and said one word to you if I had been sitting as an arm-chair politician here. I and my comrades here are engaged in a grim struggle. Our comrades at the front have to play with death. Even those who are not at the front have to face danger every minute of their existence. When we were in Burma, bombing and machine-gunning were our daily entertainment. I have seen many of my comrades killed, maimed and injured from the enemy's ruthless bombing and machine-gunning. I have seen the entire hospital of the *Azad Hind Fauj* in Rangoon razed to the ground with our helpless patients suffering heavy casualties. That I and many others with me are still alive today, is only through God's grace. It is because we are living, working and fighting in the face of death that I have a right to speak to you and to advise you. Most of you do not know what bombing is. **Most of you do *not know what it is to be machine-gunned by low flying bombers and fighters.* Most of you have had no experience *of bullets whistling past you, to your right and to your left.***

Those who have gone through this experience and have kept up their morale dare not even look at Lord Wavell's offer.

"Comrades! We have to consider what to do about Lord Wavell's offer. First of all though the time at your disposal is short, you will have to do everything possible to prevent the acceptance of this offer by the Congress Working Committee. Secondly, if you fail in that you will then have to create a situation which will force the Congress representatives to resign from the Viceroy's Executive Council. This will not be difficult. You will have to bring about a crisis between the Viceroy and the Congress members of the Executive Council. There is no doubt that when the new Executive Council is formed, the Viceroy will begin to exploit India's resources in men, money and material for fighting Britain's future war in the Far East. This will naturally raise numerous issues in which India's interests will clash with those of Britain. In that situation you will have to let loose a barrage of agitation and propaganda. Then the Congress Members of the Executive Council will be sure to stand up for India's interests against those of Britain and this will lead to a clash with the Viceroy and inevitably end in their resignation. Then you will have to agitate in order to prevent Indian troops being used as cannon-fodder. You will have to undertake to sabotage Britain's war effort in India and prevent Indian troops being sent to the battlefront. As you are aware, during the last five years the British were giving valuable instructions for organizing and carrying on underground movements in countries which went out of their control or influence. If you follow all those instructions and apply them against the British in India, you will achieve valuable results.

"Comrades! I shall now close for the day, but before I conclude I would like to remind you again that a revolutionary is one who believes in the justice of a cause, and he believes that the cause is bound to prevail in the long run. He who gets depressed over failure is no revolutionary. The motto for a revolutionary is 'Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst.' I am confident that if we fight on and if we play our cards well in the international field, we shall win our freedom by the end of this war.

"Jai Hind!"

21. I AM A REVOLUTIONARY

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 27, 1945.*]

"Comrades! During the last few days I have been speaking to you as a revolutionary addressing fellow revolutionaries in India as I would have done if I had been at home today. By revolutionary I mean a person who stands for the complete independence of his country and who is not prepared to compromise over the question of independence. Furthermore, a revolutionary believes that the cause for which he is fighting is a just one, and that cause, therefore, is bound to triumph in the long run. A revolutionary can never get disheartened or depressed over any failure or setback, for his motto is, 'Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst.' As revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of India our faith in our final victory is unshakable, just as our determination to fight on under all circumstances is unflinching. It is with this invincible spirit that we face the British and look forward to the future. For us as revolutionaries the independence of India is a settled fact. There is no power on earth that can stand between us and our goal of freedom The only uncertain factor is the time factor.

" On that question I should like to say that the exact time as to when India will attain her freedom depends on two factors: Firstly, how much effort we can put forward and how much sacrifice we are prepared to make. Secondly, how we are prepared to utilise the present war situation to our advantage. And from this standpoint we have to do at least three things. Firstly, whether inside India or outside, we have to assert India's right to freedom with arms. Secondly, inside India we have to keep up resistance, at least moral resistance, and prevent a compromise with Britain by all means. Thirdly, we have to make India an international issue and put India's case before the bar of world opinion.

" I have already said in my previous talk that we in East Asia will continue to assert India's right to freedom with arms. So long as we do so, India will remain an international issue, provided people at home do not let us down by compromising with British Imperialism and thereby make India a domestic issue of the British Empire. By a combination of military successes and lying propaganda the British have managed to create an atmosphere in India which is favourable for a compromise. Among a certain section of our countrymen the British have been able to create the impression that the Anglo-American Powers are going to win this war, and that India has no hope of achieving her independence during

the course of the present war, and further, therefore, the Indian people should accept what they are now being offered.

"As soon as the British realized that their propaganda in India was becoming effective, they struck while the iron was hot, and they put forward an offer which is in essence and in substance the old offer of Sir Stafford Cripps, with very slight modifications. Under normal circumstances, not one single genuine Congressman would have looked at Lord Wavell's offer, or would have touched it with a pair of tongs. But because of their defeatist mentality, some of our countrymen, thinking that everything is lost, are trying to grab at this offer just as a drowning man catches at a straw.

"Since our enemies have suddenly thrown an obstacle in the path of our independence, our task as revolutionaries is to remove the obstacle by all means at our disposal, so that the forces now working inside India and outside may carry us forward towards our destined goal. Though the time at our disposal is short I am nevertheless hopeful that we can succeed in the effort, provided we can open the eyes of our countrymen in time to the danger that will overtake us if we accept Lord Wavell's offer and agree to give material support to Britain in her war against Japan. Because, on the one hand, Lord Wavell's offer, if accepted, will divert us from the path of independence. On the other hand, the acceptance of that offer will create a situation in which the Congress will cease to be the representative of the Indian masses, reducing itself to the position of one party among many parties in the country, and at the same time it will make the Congress refute its national character as an organisation representing Indians of all religious creeds.

"I am surprised and pained to find that there are some Indians today who do not realize that the Viceroy and his masters have laid a trap for the Indian people. These gentlemen go so far as to believe in the *bona fides* of Lord Wavell and praise his sincerity, but I find that the Viceroy has himself exposed his own character; his motives and intentions. While opening the Simla Conference on June 25, Lord Wavell delivered a sermon to the Indian leaders and said, 'You must accept my leadership for the present until there is some agreed change in the constitution. I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good Government and tranquillity of India.' But that is not all. Earlier in his speech Lord Wavell said, 'I have called you together from all parts of India at this critical moment in our history to advise and help you in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness.'

" It is impossible for a self-respecting Indian to put up with this type of patronizing. As far as I am aware, nobody has appointed Lord Wavell as the guardian of India, nor has anybody placed India's destiny in his hands. I should like very much to know if the Congress Working Committee accept this role of Lord Wavell as the arbiter of India's destiny. While the whole world is talking today of aggression and the Anglo-American Powers in particular claim to be fighting aggression in this world, let us not forget that British rule in India is based on aggression, brute force, plunder and loot. Let us not forget also that the British have no right to be in India and that it is high time that they had shown some repentance for all their misdeeds in India, instead of posing as our well-wishers or as the saviours of India. Only vanity of the meanest order will explain Lord Wavell's sanctimonious attitude at the Simla Conference.

"Another interesting fact, which reveals Lord Wavell's real intentions, is that in the arrangement of seats at the Conference table, the seat to his right, which should have been given to the representatives of most important party attending the conference, was not given to the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. This was announced over Radio New Delhi yesterday ; but it was not stated if a protest has been lodged on behalf of the Congress. If no such protest has yet been lodged then it must be assumed that the Congress representatives are so keen about attending the Simla Conference that they are prepared to forget any insult or humiliation in doing so.

" I wonder if your attention has been drawn to another relevant and interesting fact. While Lord Wavell was making an announcement about the new offer of the British Government, the India Office in London was making an announcement to the effect that recruitment in England for the Indian Civil Service was being resumed. This is the clearest proof, if any further proof were needed, that Britain has no intention of relaxing her hold on India. Commenting on this, Prof. Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labour Party of Great Britain, said in a statement issued from London on June 25, 'It suggests to the Indian nationalist mind and the nation that the British seem to envisage a considerable lapse of time before they quit India for alternatively saddling India for many years with the payment of considerable sums of money of Britishers as compensation for possible loss of office.'

" I do not know if any of my listeners have felt intrigued as to why Lord Wavell has converted the Simla Conference into a secret conference behind closed doors. I am told that something like an oath of secrecy has been administered to all

the gentlemen attending this conference. Why is it so? I have never heard of a conference in which the fate of a country is going to be decided being held *in camera*. The only explanation I can find is that Lord Wavell is afraid of public opinion in India. Behind closed doors he is trying to bamboozle the Indian leaders and he is apprehensive that if the proceedings are made public, public opinion in India might assert itself in time and spoil all attempts to lead India's leaders into his trap.

" While talking of the Simla Conference, I must offer my respectful congratulations to Mahatma Gandhi on the wise step he has taken in not attending the Simla Conference. To me it is a clear indication that Mahatma Gandhi remembers how the British Government threatened him at the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931. Then it was so manoeuvred that Mahatma Gandhi's position as the sole representative of the Congress was brought down to the level of the representatives of the other parties attending the conference. In the present case by refraining from attending the Simla Conference, Mahatma Gandhi has been able to keep himself above party level. His non-attendance not only enhances his personal prestige, but may even be ultimately helpful to the cause of India.

" Comrades! We have now to consider what to do about Lord Wavell's offer. First of all, though the time at our disposal is short, we will have to do everything possible to prevent the acceptance of this offer by the Congress Working Committee. We should carry on a raging and tearing campaing against Lord Wavell's offer throughout the length and breadth of the country. You will also have to see to it that an organized opposition is put up. From this distance I gather the impression that there is plenty of opposition in the country to Lord Wavell's offer. But the oppositionists do not seem to be joining hands in a common campaign for preventing the acceptance of that offer. In your campaign for the rejection of the offer it will help you considerably if you challenge the Congress Working Committee to produce a programme which the new Executive Council will carry out. The country will then be able to judge from that programme whether the task of the new Executive Council will be to fight Britain's imperialist war in the Far East and provide 500,000 Indian lives as cannon-fodder, or to help India along the path of prosperity, political freedom and greatness as Lord Wavell promises.

"It is essential that before the Congress Working Committee accepts Lord Wavell's offer, it should place before the Viceroy the programme which the new Executive Councillors will work out. This programme, if approved by the Viceroy,

will be the acid test as to whether the new Executive Council will be able to serve the interests of India or not. If you fail to prevent the acceptance of the offer, you will then have to create a situation which will force the Congress representatives to resign from the Viceroy's Council. This will not be difficult. You will have to insist on the release of all political prisoners, which will, in itself, bring about a crisis between the Viceroy and the Congress members of the Executive Council, as in 1938 when the Congress Ministries in Bihar and the United Provinces demanded the release of all political prisoners and there was a conflict with the Governor. Further, there is no doubt that when the new Executive Council is formed the Viceroy will begin to exploit India's resources in men, money and material for fighting Britain's imperialist war in the Far East. This will naturally raise numerous issues in which India's interests will clash with those of Britain. If you keep up your agitation and propaganda against the Congress members of the Executive Council, the Congress members will be forced to stand up for India's interests against those of Britain. A conflict with the Viceroy will be inevitable. Then you will have to agitate in order to prevent Indian troops being sent as cannon-fodder to the Far East. If you fail in that you will have to undertake sabotage in order to prevent war production, interrupt transport and disrupt lines of communication.

"As you are aware, during the last five years the British have been giving valuable instructions for organizing and carrying on an underground movement in countries which went out of their control, for instance, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Yugoslavia and Greece. There are people in India, as in Britain, who have been trained in underground activities in other countries. If you can utilize these men, or if you can at least make use of the instructions for underground activity in other countries issued by the British authorities and apply them against the British in India you will achieve valuable results.

"Last but not the least, you will have to do propaganda work in order to incite a revolt within the Indian armed forces, and thereby prepare for a revolt from within. The Indian Army of today is not the Indian Army of 1939. The Indian Army according to British reports is 2,500,000 strong. In this Army there are many who are politically-minded and nationalist in thought. The time for an armed revolt will have come when this Army is demobilized and if India is not free by then. Thanks to this war, 2,500,000 Indians have been trained in the use of arms. When the time comes for their disbandment you can raid the armoury and get the arms with which to fight our British rulers. The Chittagong armoury

raid in 1930 was an excellent example of how arms belonging to our enemy can be procured and then used against them.

"I am confident that if we fight on, refusing to compromise with British imperialism, and if we play our cards well in the international field, we shall win our freedom by the end of this war. But, that does not mean that if by any chance we fail to succeed we should be disheartened or depressed. Outwardly, if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of this war, our next plan should be for a post-war revolution; and if we fail in that too, then there will be World War No. 3 to give us another opportunity to fight for our freedoom. I have no doubt that World War No. 3 will break out within ten years of the end of this war and perhaps much earlier, in case all the suppressed nations of the world are not liberated during the course of the present war

"As I have already said, India's independence is certain the only uncertain factor is the time factor. At the worst—at the very worst—it may take a few more years for India to be free. Why then should we be so eager to rush to the Viceroy's House for a compromise? Your task as revolutionaries will be to keep the flag of independence flying and to keep it flying until such time as the masses of India rise in open rebellion and hoist the tricolour National Flag over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi. "Jai Hind!"

22. CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE*

[*Broadcast over the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF RADIO, SINGAPORE, on June 28, 1945*]

"Comrades-in-revolution! Last night I wanted to prove that by accepting the Wavell offer we stand to gain nothing. On the other hand, we stand to spoil our nation's future. If we accept the offer we will undoubtedly secure some high posts for the nominees of the Congress, but that is all. We as a nation will be doomed, and the Congress will have to discard all that it has stood for all these years.

"When revolutionary movements gain strength in any independent country, the foreign dominating Government always tries to come to some understanding with the revolutionaries so that it might retain its hold intact by agreeing to a

*This speech was originally broadcast in Bengali, of which this is a translation.

few superficial concessions. When the Sinn-Fein Party launched a revolution in Ireland, the British Government proposed a national convention of all parties to draft a future Irish Constitution. But the Sinn-Fein Party boycotted the so-called national convention saying that only those who fight for freedom have the exclusive right to frame a constitution for their country. They continued their national revolution and sometime later the British Government was forced to come to terms with the Sinn-Fein Party to the exclusion of all other parties.

"You may recall that when the question of participating in the Round Table Conference in 1931 arose, I said that the Congress alone had the right to join the conference and none else. Those who do not fight for freedom cannot claim the right of participating in such conferences. Congress leaders did not pay any heed to my words then. The Second Round Table Conference was attended by Mahatma Gandhi along with other reactionary delegates, but soon after he realized that the British Government wanted to pitch Indians against one another in that conference. Mahatmaji never forgot the lesson he learnt there. That explains why he did not join the Simla Conference. He has enhanced his prestige by refusing to attend the Simla Conference, and I have no doubt that his non-participation will ultimately lead to good results. Though he supported the Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact, which prompted Lord Wavell to go to England and return with a new offer, Mahatmaji has done the right thing by not participating in the Conference. He alone can save the Congress and the country from impending humiliation. I am of the opinion that the Congress has committed the same blunder by joining the Simla Conference, as Mahatmaji did in 1931 by joining the Round Table Conference. The Congress today is the same Congress which has been fighting for freedom for the last half a century. It is, therefore, the exclusive right of the Congress to make and arrive at a settlement with any power. The Congress will, therefore. lower its prestige by attending conferences along with diverse political elements. The Congress is the only national and representative organization of India, and it alone has the right to speak for and represent the people of India as a whole. The plan, however, betrays the Viceroy's designs. He has allowed parity between the Hindus and Muslims in his Council. He has invited both the Congress and the Muslim League, thereby reducing the status of the Congress to that of a sectarian organization. But Mahatmaji has played his hand well. He has forced the Viceroy to invite Maulana Azad to the conference. and has himself remained away from the conference. Thus, he has defeated both Wavell and Jinnah in their subtle and evil designs. Jinnah, however, will not feel comfortable with Maulana Azad, a Muslim, representing

the Congress. So he carries on parleys with Pandit Pant and not with Maulana Azad.

"The proposed Executive Council will have Muslim League and Congress representatives; besides this, the minority communities like the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and others will also be represented. The Congress representatives will, of course, remain loyal to the cause of the country, but the Leaguers might be won over by the Viceroy. In that case, he can have his own way. Even if the Congress and League nominees agree on anything, the Viceroy's veto will always be there to nullify it. So almost in all cases he will have his own way. And when we remember that he wants 500,000 troops to fight Japan, we can realize that it is a blunder to take part in the Simla parleys.

"The British authorities hold out assurances that the Viceroy's veto will be seldom exercised, but the very treatment meted out to the Congress belies such hopes. In the first instance, the first seat was given to the President, not of the Congress, but of some other organization. Everywhere the first seat is given to the representative of the greatest organization. According to the Delhi Radio the Congress President was given a seat not to the right of the Viceroy but to his left. This is not a question of personal prestige. It is an insult to the institution we all love. I want to know if any protest has been lodged against this arrangement. If not, the Congress proved to the country that it is only too eager to accept even if it has to put up with this insult.

"Some of our countrymen praise Lord Wavell for his sincerity and goodwill. In the inaugural speech before the conference he is reported to have said, 'I have invited you to help me bring India nearer her goal of self-government. We must not disperse without coming to a settlement. I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the peace and welfare of India. I appeal to you to help me in my task.' It is really strange that Wavell still considers himself an arbiter of India's destiny. It should be made clear to him that Indians are the arbiters of their own destiny. The day is long past when Indians felt proud of such compliments, now they feel humiliated at being patted on the back by the British.

"Friends, we make the following suggestions to our countrymen to rectify the wrong done by the Congress by participating in the Simla Conference. Bring home to our countrymen that the Working Committee has no right to decide such a grave issue. This right belongs to a plenary session of the Congress. The present Working Committee contains no Leftist elements, which should be duly consulted.

"Friends, I have finished. Remember we are revolutionaries. We are optimistic. We must carry on our struggle despite all allurements, and we must succeed. "Jai Hind!"

23. A SILVER-LINING

[*Broadcast from SINGAPORE on June 29, 1945*]

"Sisters and brothers in India! The latest news from Simla affords a silver-lining in the cloud that is ahead of us today. Today, the representatives of the Muslim League have insisted that all the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council earmarked for Muslims should go to the Muslim League and to the Muslim League alone. It is but natural that the Congress should refuse to accept this position and to insist that at least some of the seats earmarked for Muslims should go to Nationalist Muslims who are outside the Muslim League. I only hope and pray that the Congress will not budge an inch from this position out of extreme eagerness to accept the British offer. To submit to the unreasonable demand of the Muslim League on this question would amount to political suicide for the Congress.

"I have no doubt in my mind that should the unexpected happen and the Congress surrender to the Muslim League on this fundamental and all-important question there will be a revolt within the Congress. Not only will the entire left-wing revolt against such a decision, but large numbers of Congressmen who are not left-wingers will also join in the revolt. I am extremely happy to learn that representatives of five Nationalist Muslim organisations have recently held a conference in New Delhi and have reiterated their declaration that the Muslim League is not the only representative organization of the Muslims of India. The summoning of this conference is an indication that party differences in India are beginning to assert itself. I only hope that those organizations and individuals who are hostile to it or are suspicious of Lord Wavell's offer put up a combined opposition. In the first place it appears to me eminently desirable that all Nationalist Muslim organization in India should make their voice heard. Perhaps the Azad Muslim League or the Jamiat-ul-Ulema will take the initiative in convening a representative conference of Nationalist Muslim organization from all over India. From the report which is before me I find that in the recent conference held in New Delhi, representatives of the Khudai-Khidmatgars of the Frontier Province and of the Proja Party of Bengal did not participate. It is also not clear if the Majlis-i-Ahrar took part in that conference. In the conference that

I have suggested it may even be possible to invite representatives of the Unionist Party of the Punjab because it is possible that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party will not accept the position that the Muslim League is the sole representative of the Muslims of India.

"All those who feel as strongly as I do that in the interests of India and for the early achievement of India's independence Lord Wavell's offer should be rejected lock, stock and barrel, must continue their agitation until we are completely out of danger. Moreover, if we lose the first round and if the Congress ultimately accepts Lord Wavell's offer, we must, nevertheless, continue our activity so that a situation may be created in which the Congress will be compelled to resign from the Viceroy's Executive Council. In a revolutionary struggle we can never afford to be disheartened, discouraged or depressed, especially at a time when so much depends on the success of the campaign.

"Mahatma Gandhi's wise decision in not participating in the Simla Conference gives us some hope that the tragedy may yet be averted. I can understand why the Muslim League representatives have resented the invitation to Maulana Azad to attend the conference. What Mahatma Gandhi has done is not only magnificently proper, but has been a particularly wise step. It would have been a very great injustice to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad personally and to the large number of the Congress Muslims who have made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of India's freedom, if the Congress President had not been allowed to lead the Congress delegation to the Simla Conference simply because he happens to be a Muslim.

"I am surprised to find that in his negotiations with the Congress, Mr. Jinnah did not deal directly with the Congress President but paid commodious lip service to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant as an intermediary between himself and the Congress President. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, by leading the Congress delegation, has been able to render a great service to India by making the voice of India felt in the conference. There is no doubt that by his non-participation in the Simla Conference Mahatma Gandhi has enhanced his personal position and prestige. It is also not new to him to keep out of the whole situation thus making it possible for him to put himself at the forefront at the right moment and advise the rejection of the proposed offer. Meanwhile, the danger continues and we can't afford to waste our time. I, therefore, hope and trust that all lovers and supporters of Indian independence will continue their efforts to secure a rejection of the British offer which is a great menace to the cause of India's freedom. Once this obstacle is removed from

the path of India's freedom, the Indian people will be able to regain their mental balance and to prepare a first-class plan to continue the national struggle till complete independence is achieved.

"Jai Hind!"

CHAPTER III

Press Statements

PRESS STATEMENTS

● "Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said at a Press Conference in Berlin, 'The Axis Powers are fighting for very high ideals. They want to see India free. The Duce and the Fuehrer are the true friends of India.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, June 19, 1942.

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● "In an interview with the Berlin Correspondent of the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi*, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose pointed out that the recent assurance given by General Tojo, the Japanese Premier, that the Japanese Government had no intentions whatsoever towards India was highly appreciated by the Indian people. He went on to say that the reason for the change in Mahatma Gandhi's policy during the last six months was because Mahatmaji realised how deeply the Indian people were impressed by Japan's friendly attitude. Mr. Bose declared that the time had now come for launching an armed fight for India's Independence."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, June 20, 1942.

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● "In an interview with the Berlin Correspondent of the Japanese newspaper *Nichi Nichi*, the great Indian leader Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, observed: 'We Indians know that this is not the time to arrive at any compromise with Britain. We fully realise and understand that only the use of force can effect our deliverance from British Imperialism, and we are determined to obtain our freedom at all cost. We deeply appreciate the recent declaration of General Tojo who said that Japan wanted India for the Indians; and this declaration had shown the friendly intentions of Japan towards India. As a result, there has come about a marked change in Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards Japan. Indians have seen the miserable plight of the British in the Far East and how they have been thrown out of Burma, Malaya and elsewhere, and their disorderly retreat to Bengal. In the circumstances, it is foolish to even think of any compromise with the British. I feel certain that no British

tactics can now entrap Indian political leaders into entering into any understanding with Britain, because such a compromise will be fatal to India's cause. Burma has already regained her lost independence, which clearly proves that the Japanese are true to their word, and that they have no territorial designs on Asiatic nations. The resolutions adopted by the Indian Independence League in Bangkok have given a new momentum to the struggle for India's independence. By sending her representatives to attend the Bangkok Conference the Axis Powers have made a gesture of friendship towards India and demonstrated her abiding sympathy for India's noble cause. Today, India is afraid of nobody. I am certain that with the help of the Axis Powers we shall ultimately triumph in our struggle against British Imperialism. We firmly believe that Britain cannot escape final and irrevocable defeat in this war, and with the end of the war India will emerge free and triumphant.' "

-*BERLIN RADIO*, June 27, 1942.

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● "In the course of an interview with the special correspondent of the *Berlinerzeitung*, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the distinguished Indian political leader now in Berlin, stressed the significance of the Indian war of independence, and pointed out that the Indian national movement was not confined to British India alone but had spread to the Indian States as well. He emphasised that Indians, irrespective of caste or creed, had joined the revolutionary movement and were actively fighting for the political emancipation of India. Mr. Bose added that freedom could only be achieved by force of arms, and it was his purpose to organise and launch an armed struggle against British power in India. The great Indian leader went on to say, 'Until such time, however, as we cannot start an armed struggle we have to keep on fighting with the weapon of non-violence, and this India is doing under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Anglo-Americans are trying to convert India into a big military base for operations against Japan, but all such efforts are being stoutly resisted by Indians who are doing everything in their power to hamper Britain's war effort in India. I am fully confident of an Axis victory, and I know that such a victory will result in the emancipation of India. When India is free she will be able to take

her place among the independent nations of the world, and we can then revive our ancient culture and live a life of dignity.' Mr. Bose concluded by saying that a free India will make a valuable contribution towards the establishment of a new world order based on justice, equality and freedom.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, October 21, 1943.

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● " Only an armed struggle can bring about the freedom of India. Non-violent *satyagraha* alone is not enough to overthrow British rule which is maintained by the sword. The British drew the sword first, and it is only by the sword that they will perish,' observed Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the great Indian patriot who has just arrived in Tokyo from Berlin, in the course of a talk with a large number of Press representatives today. Mr. Bose went on to say, 'The British have enslaved India by force and it is force alone which can destroy them. It is, therefore, my intention to organise an armed struggle against British rule in India. The intensity of the armed struggle will depend on the opposition that we have to encounter. If the British adopt sterner repressive measures we will also have to adopt stronger methods, and even seek outside help. I may even go so far as to say that we are in dire need of help from outside, and it will be folly not to accept it when it is being willingly offered.'

"Replying to a question Mr. Bose said that the Prime Minister, General Tojo, is not only taking personal interest in India but he is leaving no stone unturned in order to give all the assistance that lies within the power of the Japanese Government to help India in her struggle against British Imperialism. He regretted that he could not disclose what transpired at his meeting with General Tojo, but he said, 'I can say with the utmost confidence that apart from any assistance we may receive from the Japanese Government, Prime Minister Tojo is presonally anxious to see India free from the British yoke at an early date.' Asked whether he had drawn up any specific plan for the launching of the proposed armed struggle against Britain, Mr. Bose said that detailed plans had been drawn up to help his countrymen and that preparations were almost complete. He reiterated his unflagging determination to achieve the liberation of India at the earliest opportunity. He declared that not only did the

overwhelming majority of his countrymen sincerely desire to see the Axis Powers emerge victorious from the struggle, but they were not willing to participate in the war against the common foe. Mr. Bose said that the enemy had drawn the sword and had to be fought with the sword. He, therefore, felt that the civil disobedience movement must develop into an armed struggle, and only when the Indian people had received a baptism of fire would they be qualified to achieve freedom. He expressed his hundred per cent conviction that the Axis Powers would finally win the war, however long the struggle might last. Mr. Bose said, 'Indian leaders learnt their lesson in World War I when, as a price of unqualified co-operation, they received *lathi* charges, jail sentences and the shooting of innocents. India has realised that British promises have no value whatsoever, and are calculated to deceive the people. Consequently, India is determined to take full advantage of the present war and fight for the freedom of India without thinking of a compromise. The Indian people know that such an opportunity will not come for another hundred years. British rule in India has meant cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political servitude, and today they are determined to end British rule. Indian sympathy, therefore, rests with the Axis Powers who are fighting to destroy British Imperialism which has enslaved and ruined 400 million people. To-day, Japan and Germany are fighting our one and only enemy—British Imperialism—and our sympathies naturally lie with these Powers. We in India feel that a strong Japan is, and always has been, a historical necessity for the revival of Asia. I feel certain that India will welcome close economic, cultural and political co-operation with Japan.' Mr. Bose concluded by expressing his absolute confidence in an Axis victory which will result in the complete break-up of the British Empire and Anglo-American domination of Asia, and the emancipation of 400 million Indians from the British yoke.

—*TOKYO RADIO*, June 19, 1943.

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● "Erwin Wickert will now give our German listeners an account of the talk which he had yesterday with Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

" 'This fable that India is divided into castes, parties, religions, communities and races and, therefore, cannot rule herself has been invented by British propaganda. Commu-

nism has worked in India for British interests ever since 1939, when Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. The Indian people have proved in practice that they are capable of governing themselves. Just as sure as the victory of the Tripartite Powers is the fact that India will gain her freedom in this war.' "

"These phrases are the main points of an interview which Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Indian Independence Movement, granted to listeners of the German radio. Calmly and deliberately Bose answered all the questions put in the German language. With sharp, decisive gestures he underlined his words. The discussion was based on the fact that Subhas Chandra Bose employed the radio as the principal propaganda weapon in the struggle for a free India. We in East Asia clearly remember how Bose, following his escape from prison and before his arrival in Germany, spoke over the Free India Radio only a few days after British propaganda claimed that Subhas Chandra Bose was dead. When asked as to which parts of the Indian nation were particularly affected by his movement he answered that like National Socialism his movement embraced the entire Indian population. Then followed these questions and answers.

"Q. When the arrival of Your Excellency in Tokyo was announced ten days ago, there was not one among the Indians in Free East Asia who did not welcome this event with great joy. All the great Indian communities in China, the Philippines, Japan, Indo-China, Thailand and Malaya sent you congratulatory telegrams. How does this fact tally with the British claims to the effect that the Indian people are disunited, split up into castes, religions and races which are fighting each other?

"A. This is a typical example of lying British propaganda. In my National Movement the religious question does not exist. I have followers among all Indians, in particular among the Mohammedans who, according to the British, pursue separatist aims.

"Q. When looking at the political map of India you notice the relatively large states of the Indian Princes besides those parts of the country which are directly under British control. What is the role of Indian Princes in the policy of Your Excellency?

"A. The Princes will not be able to stop our movement and its victorious end. They either voluntarily submitted to Britain or are under British pressure. Contrary to what happened in the last World War, they are

not playing any political role in the present one. During the last 20 years and under the very eyes of the Princes a national movement for India's independence began throughout the Indian states. It is the people who count today. It is in the Indian states that my movement has found many followers.

"Q. Is there any other Indian group which hampers unity to any significant extent? For instance, how about the Communists to whom, apparently on Moscow's pressure, Britain has granted more freedom in India during the last few years?

"A. The **Third International** has been fighting in India for British interests ever since the outbreak of the war in 1939. Since that moment it lost all chances of success with the Indian people. Its political significance has thus decreased. In spite of its alliance with Britain we do not fear to fight against it. The only real danger facing our movement is the desire to bring about a compromise with Great Britain, a wish which is still being voiced by some people in India who have not yet realized facts.

"Q. Britain's propaganda bases the claim for domination on the fact that India is not able to govern herself.

"Bose only smiled and said that it was difficult for him to take this old British argument seriously. He added: 'When the British came to India we had for a long time our own successful governments. We have an age-old history, much older than the British. Apart from this fact, Indian Congress Ministries in the recent past functioned in eight Indian provinces. Though we were not free, we were able to do more for our people during that short period than the British did in the course of their entire domination. Then the social problem of India was, for the first time, seriously tackled. This fact has given the Indian people the necessary self-confidence. We know that we are more capable of administering our country than the British authorities. In 1939, when the war against Germany broke out, the British Parliament took away from the Congress Ministries the rights of self-Government because further progress was considered too dangerous.'

"Subhas Chandra Bose then emphasized the similarity between the fate of Germany and India, and pointed out that in the 17th century Britain, according to the motto '*divide et impera*' repeatedly tried to exploit the discord which formerly prevailed in Germany and Europe in favour of her so-called principle of 'balance of power.' Britain has been doing the

same thing in India for a century, and, as formerly in Europe, she plays one Indian party against the other. Though the differences between these parties are not really significant, Britain aggravates them and tells the whole world that India is incapable of governing herself. Britain alone is responsible for the wrong picture which even many well-meaning people still have of India. 'I know,' Bose said, 'that the Germans, having had personal experience of Britain's policy, understand India and her fight better than any other nation in the world. I am, therefore, convinced that our fight is closely connected with the struggle now being waged by Germany and the other Tripartite Powers. Should we be alone our fight against Britain would be very difficult.'

"Bose concluded the interview with the words: 'I am firmly convinced that the Tripartite Powers will be victorious, and I believe just as strongly that India will attain independence in this war'."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, June 28, 1943.

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"In an interview with Thai Press reporters and some foreign correspondents, Mr. Subhas Bose, who is now visiting Thailand, clarified his unstinting efforts to beat down Britain in the following words: 'Backed by the enthusiasm of the Indian National Army, our independence movement has entered a new phase. We Indian nationals are now marching forward to beat down British imperialism by resorting to armed force. I am confident that when the fully trained Indian National Army marches in India over the border, all Indians now under British influence will hail us and willingly join us in the face of all odds. Thus, the entire Indian nation will fight bravely to drive the Britishers away from India. With the birth of the Provisional Government of India, the enemies' propaganda efforts will be completely foiled, and all Indians will offer full co-operation to us. When the Indian National Army marches into New Delhi, achieving the final destruction of Anglo-American imperialism, the entire Indian populace will unite in one body to establish a free India'."

—*BANGKOK RADIO*, July 30, 1943.

"Speaking to Japanese pressmen, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose stated that the Indians in East Asia are slowly awakening to their new responsibility and are determined to help their Indian brethren to achieve freedom. He added that the attainment of freedom by Burma had increased the enthusiasm of the Indians and strengthened their resolve to be rid of the British for ever. Continuing, he stated that the duty of the Indian National Government is to carry on the struggle for freedom, and that as soon as India is free it will be replaced by a Government chosen by the people themselves. In conclusion, Mr. S. C. Bose said that Indians were determined to attain freedom by bloodshed, and to drive the American and Chungking soldiers, who were helping Britain to retain her hold on India, out with the British."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, August 18, 1943.

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● " Finishing a round of inspection of the anti-British independence movement prevailing in all parts of the Co-prosperity Sphere, Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Indian Independence League and concurrently Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army, dwelt on the prevailing situation at a Press conference and said : 'The present situation in India is becoming more and more precarious. In one year, since the outbreak of the anti-British movement launched by the Indian National Congress the movement has been crushed by organised British terrorism. Today, it lies smouldering but more or less inactive We have two alternatives today. One is to give spiritual aid to those patriots who are taking recourse to all possible means to encourage the spirit of their own people. The courage of Indians at home will be doubled if the Provisional Government of Free India is established. The second alternative is to give active military support. It is gratifying to note that the Indian army at home is displaying a more co-operative attitude towards the Indians abroad. I am convinced the time is now ripe to launch strategical operations in accordance with the requirements of the domestic movement. The organisation of the Independence League lays more emphasis on military affairs. By the experience gained during the recent trip I have been greatly impressed by the eagerness of all Indians abroad who are very anxious to establish a provisional government. I have personally interviewed Premier Pibul Songgram of Thailand and the Chief of State, Dr. Ba Maw, of Burma. They have both promised to give me all-out support in the attainment of Indian independence. In order to provide for the forthcoming struggle, every

preparation is now ready. For the attainment of the great objective of gaining independence, we strongly avow in the name of all our comrades, to go on undaunted towards our goal in the face of any obstacle."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, August 18, 1943.

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● "Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Indian Independence League, told a Press correspondent during an exclusive interview that the time had come when India would be free. He added that the Indian National Army was now ready to give battle to the Anglo-American forces in India. He pointed out that the Indian people were not alone in their fight against British imperialism. This time they were backed by the trained soldiers of the Indian National Army. All news coming from India had convinced Mr. Bose that there was serious political unrest in India. Mr. Bose also stated that the people of India were overjoyed when they heard about the formation of the Indian National Army, and were waiting for the day of liberation. He revealed that the Burmese and the Thai Governments had promised full assistance to the Indian people in their struggle against Britain. Mr. Bose said that Burma would soon become the centre from where the final battle of India's independence would be launched. Burma itself having been given freedom, the Burmese people are only too anxious to see India free, Mr. Bose coucluded."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 19, 1943.

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● "Sjt. S. C. Bose stated in the course of an interview to Pressmen that the declaration of war by the Provisional Government of Free India upon Britain and America affirmed India's conviction that the Anglo-Americans were her only enemies. He added that the time was not far off when the Anglo-Americans will know that this declaration of war was not an empty threat. Japan's recognition of the Provisional Government and its Army had lent strength to the Indians and increased their enthusiasm.

He said that two of the dearest wishes of the Indian people had been realised and come true, it was up to them now to realize

the third, namely, the launching of an armed struggle for the liberation of the Motherland, which was awaiting fulfilment; and he felt confident that the day of India's liberation was not far off. Mr. Bose stated that the Indian National Army was on its way to the Indian frontier. Continuing, he said that it was very efficient, though small, and that he had every confidence in its success. Sjt. Bose also called upon Chungking to ponder over the recent declaration of war on Britain and America by the Indian National Government and pointed out that though he had not made any special appeal to Chungking so far as soon as the Indian National Army had taken Assam and Bengal, Chungking would know what the real feelings of the Indians are. In conclusion, he stressed the significance of the choice of Burma as the Headquarters of the Indian National Army.

—*AZAD HIND RADIO* (Singapore), October 26, 1943.

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● "At a very largely attended Press Conference, Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Provisional Government of Free India and Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army, declared that the troops under his command were impatiently awaiting orders to go to the front and play their part in the war of Indian independence. He revealed that units of the Indian National Army which had already left Shonan for the Northern regions were highly delighted. He said that the Provisional Government of India commanded the confidence and co-operation of all Indian Nationals in East Asia and the support of the strong Indian National Army. He declared that it was directly concerned with the national movement at home, and added that every Indian was in sympathy with it. Under the stress of the changed circumstances, even their enemies realized the significance of the Indian Provisional Government.

"Discussing his mission to Tokyo, Mr. S. C. Bose said that he had come to Japan to thank the Japanese Government personally for its recognition of the Provisional Government of India and its promise of full support in the Indian struggle for liberation. He added that he would hold discussions with responsible Tokyo officials on the situation created by the Provisional Government's declaration of war on Britain and America. He expressed the hope that he would be able to further strengthen the friendly relations which he had established with the Japanese Government at his last meeting.

This personal contact, he pointed out, demonstrated to the world the mutual love and friendship between Japan and the Provisional Government of India. He pointed out that the recognition of the Provisional Government of India by the Government of Japan had frustrated enemy propaganda which had deliberately misrepresented Japan's attitude towards India. The recognition of the Provisional Government by several friendly Governments, which sought to encourage the Indian National movement, had inspired Indians both at home and abroad. For the first time since the last war of independence in 1857, Indians have now taken up arms against Britain under their own Government. Mr. Bose went on to say that the Provisional Govennment of India had been organised on the same lines as those which several other oppressed nations had established in order to carry on their fight for freedom. The imprisonment of all prominent Indian leaders and the disarming of Indians had made the organisation of the Provisional Government of India imperative. He declared that the sole aim of the Provisional Government was to fight the last war of Indian independence against Anglo-American imperialism, restore peace and order, and establish a permanent Indian Government which would be chosen by the Indian people. He added that owing to the military character of the Provisional Government, only those portfolios had been created which were necessary for the successful prosecution of the national struggle for liberation and the achievement of final victory; and emphasised that more portfolios would be added as soon as the Indian National Army entered the country.

"Reviewing the course of events since his departure from India in 1941, Mr. Bose disclosed that by the grace of the Almighty he had realized all the aims with which he had left India and now there remained only the last fight for independence and the achievement of final victory. He pointed out that he had organized the National Army of liberation abroad and had taken part in the constitution of the Provisional Government of India because he felt that without this the freedom of India was impossible. Mr. Bose stated that the salvation of India was as sure as tomorrow's sunrise. Discussing the differences between the Allies and Japan, he stressed that while shouting about their so-called noble aims of freedom and democracy and advertising the merits of the Atlantic Charter, the Anglo-Americans were cruelly oppressing the enslaved nations and depriving small countries like Iran and Iraq of their freedom, the Japanese were doing all they could to liberate the so far oppressed nations of Asia to achieve freedom.

"Questioned about the plans of the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government, Mr. Bose replied that the Army was so thoroughly equipped and so capably directed by the Provisional Government that no enemy could withstand it. He added that women soldiers had also been included, and they were as capable as the men. The following questions and answers followed:

"Q. What measures have been taken by the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government to relieve India's food situation?

"A. Originally Burma, and later the Indian National Army, offered 100,000 tons of rice to India's starving population, and the British Government was asked to make arrangements for taking delivery. The British Government, unfortunately, made no reply to this offer. The Army is, however, determined to despatch foodstuffs to India at all cost. A way will somehow have to be found.

"Q. Why could not Burma arrange with the International Red Cross Society for the despatch of rice?

"A. When the British Government is not prepared to accept the offer, what can the Red Cross do?

"Q. Have you complete confidence in the success of the Indian National Army after it has crossed the Indian border? What steps has it taken to cope with a possible rebellion in India?

"A. More than 12,000 Indian troops now in the British Army have assured us of their full support as soon as the Indian National Army enters India. These Indian troops have been harassed and ill-treated by their British officers and they are longing for revenge. I have also been receiving regular reports on the functioning of India's political machinery. Our agents keep us well informed of every development in India. Similarly, we have responsible people in India who keep in touch with the latest situation abroad. Thus the closest contact has been established between Indians at home and abroad.

"Q. Can the Provisional Government efficiently control and direct the movements of the Indian National Army? Is this Army adequately equipped to carry on the war of freedom for a considerable time?

"A. I consider the Provisional Government to be most competent and its Army well equipped. To win any battle of freedom two institutions are essential: first, a National Army; and, secondly, a National Government. India has both. In addition, she has the recognition and full support of mighty Japan and Germany.

"Q. It is believed that the Headquarters of the Provisional Government will be transferred from Shonan to Burma. What relationship exists between the Provisional Government of Free India and the Government of Burma ?

"A. The Headquarters will be transferred when circumstances permit. As to our relationship with the Burmese Government, it is most cordial. We are like two children of the same parents. Japan has recognised the independence of Burma, the Philippines, and the Provisional Government of Free India. We three form a happy family under one guardian—Japan.

"Q. What is your opinion as regards the food situation in India ?

"A. The situation is appalling. The fact that Churchill and Roosevelt have ignored the appeals of the Indians shows that the British Government and its American ally are quite indifferent to their misery. No satisfactory measures have so far been taken by the British Government. It even refuses to supply ships for the import of foodstuffs into India.

"Q. It appears that you have achieved the three most important objectives, namely, the formation of an Indian National Army, the establishment of an Indian National Government, and the winning of full support from Japan. Have you any other for the immediate future ?

"A. Yes, one more—the last—and that is to lead the Indian National Army to India, fight the battle of freedom, expel the Anglo-Americans from our motherland, establish an Indian National Government in India, and bring everlasting peace and prosperity to the down-trodden millions of my country."

—*TOKYO RADIO* (In Hindustani), November 3, 1943.

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● During an interview with the Foreign Press correspondents of Tokyo, Netaji S. C. Bose declared that it was possible that the Britsh will fail to advance into Burma, but the Indian National Army will not fail to march into Assam. When the Indian National Army moves into Assam, all hopes entertained by the Chungking regime of opening the supply road from Assam will be dashed to the ground. Netaji

also declared that the *Azad Hind* Army would give a good account of itself in the battle against the Anglo-Americans and their allies. Netaji expressed his belief that certain sections of the British Indian Army will refuse to fight against the *Azad Hind Fauj* and join the army of freedom. The British apparently seem to have withdrawn the Indian troops from the front line owing to increasing cases of Indian troops deserting the British. This will increase still more. Netaji said, 'When the actual battle for the freedom of India starts there will be a general uprising throughout India against the British. Commenting upon the indifferent attitude of the Indian people towards the Chungking regime, Netaji S. C. Bose stressed the complete change in the attitude of the Indian people. In 1937 and 1938, a large number of Indians had sympathy for Chungking but today their attitude had changed completely because Chungking began to give help to the British authorities in maintaining their domination over India and Burma. Quoting the advance of Chungking troops into Burma, as an example, Netaji said that such action had completely alienated the sympathy of the Indian people for Chungking China."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 5, 1943.

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● "During his farewell talk with Saigon pressmen, Netaji said that the Indian National Army, in close collaboration with the Indians of East Asia and with the assistance of the invincible might of Japan, was soon going to embark on its historic march to India for the liberation of her millions. Netaji said that the recent Conference of East Asiatic leaders in Tokyo had changed the destinies of the 1,000,000,000 inhabitants of East Asia, and added that this Conference had afforded an opportunity to the Chungking Chinese to have their grievances redressed. Indians, however, know that the leaders of Chungking China had been hoodwinking these ignorant Chinese, by going over to the side of the Anglo-Americans even before the battle of East Asia had broken out. Knowing well that the Anglo-Americans are the avowed enemies of the Asiatic people, these traitors of Chungking have even sent their forces to India. Further, Netaji described the joy of the Indians at the restoration of complete freedom to Burma and the Philippines and confirmed India's faith in Japan's power to help India in achieving freedom. Referring to world reactions to the formation of the Provisional Government, Netaji said : 'Although London and America have not recognized this Indian Government yet it has had a marvellous effect upon millions of Indians.' "

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon) (In Tamil)
Nov. 24, 1943.

"In a press interview given somewhere in Burma, Netaji S. C. Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind*, declared that as a result of his recent talks with Japanese military experts, the Indian National Army would very shortly launch its offensive. He revealed that both Japan and Germany had launched an all-out offensive against their enemies and expressed the hope that Japan and Germany would very shortly establish their superiority in these final battles.

"Netaji expressed the hope that India would also play an important part in this new phase of the war and said that he felt confident that the Indian National Army would succeed in liberating India from the clutches of the British pirates Praising the Japanese 'Special Air Attack Corps', Netaji stated that he was very much impressed by the brilliant performances and heroic exploits of its members, and added that troops of the Indian National Army would follow the noble example of the gallant Japanese troops and fight with firm determination and valour and deliver their Motherland from bondage.

"Referring to the British counter-attack in Burma Netaji declared: 'This is not the first British attempt to recapture Burma. The present Viceroy had made the first attempt to overrun Burma which had failed miserably in the Arakan. Later, Mountbatten made another attempt which brought insignificant success at heavy cost. The second Arakan campaign saw the entry of the Indian National Army into India upto Imphal and Kohima. Now Mountbatten has made another attempt which has, however, proved successful. But, we are certain that this insignificant success will not affect the powers and the indomitable spirit of the Indian National Army and the Japanese forces, because they know that the British will ultimately be forced to retreat when the combind Indo-Japanese forces launch their counter-offensive. The situation in Burma is not favourable for the British because a great majority of the Indian troops in the British Army are unwilling to fight for them. Indian troops of the British Army will not fight against the Indian National Army because they know that it is fighting to liberate their Motherland. They will, I strongly feel, join the Indian National Army when they come in contact with it. The Indian National Army possesses high morale and unique spiritual power. Men and officers of the Indian National Army are pledged to liberate their country. Freedom or death is their only goal. The war cry of our Army is 'Blood, Blood and Blood'. Men and officers of this Indian National Militia know that they are fighting for the sacred cause of delivering 380 millions of their countrymen from British bondage. Those who believe

that the British will win this war are making a great mistake. If they had only been aware of the invincible strength of the Indian National Army and its Japanese ally, they would not be dwelling in such a fool's paradise.'

"Mr. Bose said that the Indian National Army had gained considerable practical experience from its previous offensive, and last year's events had proved that the Indian National Army and the Japanese forces in Burma are far superior to the Anglo-Americans. He went on to say that the enemy was either thrown back or withdrew when the Indian National Army went on the offensive. The Anglo-Americans were put to a headlong flight and their advance was completely stemmed in all the sectors of the front. Mr. Bose said that British troops pushed forward only when the Indian National Army withdrew for strategic reasons after the outbreak of the monsoon. Mr. Bose concluded the interview with the declaration, 'India's salvation is now only a question of time. The well-equipped, disciplined and strong Indian National Army will destroy British power in India and smash the shackles of India's slavery. There is no power in the world which can prevent the Indian National Army from marching forward triumphantly to complete victory.' "

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), January 17, 1944.

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"On Tuesday, Mr. S. C. Bose declared at a Press interview: 'While the Indian National Army, in collaboration with the Japanese Army, continues its military operations against the Anglo-Americans, great efforts are being made in the work of reconstruction in the liberated territories. The main task of the new administration is to create a new political, economic and social order by which a better life for the Indians may be secured. During the last month, 3,000,000 Indians in East Asia have supported our national movement. One industrialist has placed his factories unconditionally at our disposal, and a second has offered us his entire property.' Commenting on the effect of the Indian Independence Movement upon the enemy and the Indian people, Mr. S. C. Bose declared that the policy of the British Indian Government of keeping secret the advance of the Indian National Army has made the Indian population very indignant. They have already learnt of its success from American and neutral sources and the number of Indians

rallying to the Indian National Army's support is increasing enormously.

—*RANGOON RADIO*, April 17, 1944.

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"Mr. S. C. Bose said in the course of a Press interview on Friday that his confidence in the early realisation of India's emancipation stood as firm as ever. Here is a resume of what he said: 'The fall of Kohima is bound to have far-reaching effect on all India, to say nothing of the success of the Indian National Army on the Brahmaputra plain. With the fall of Imphal, which will inevitably follow that of Kohima, the Indians will, for the first time in their history, have their own free government in their homeland. As to the administrative policy of the Provisional Government, every effort will be made to avoid governmental delays and to help the people to live a life of comfort. The aim of the Provisional Government is to liberate the Indian masses. This is in striking contrast to the British way of sacrificing our manpower and using our resources for their own gain. The Provisional Government is a people's government and will function only as long as a stable government is not established.' "

—*RANGOON RADIO, April 28, 1944.*

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"In an interview with the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Hochi's* war correspondent, Netaji S. C. Bose said: 'It is immaterial to me how the British plan to check our advance as all their attempts will be useless. They can do nothing to shake our determination. Since January 26, 1941, when I escaped from British confinement, all their efforts to rearrest me have failed. Now they have posted a huge army on the Indo-Burma front to check our entry into India. But, the world has seen how the Indian National Army has successfully pierced their defences and continued its march. In a short time this Army will end British rule in India. The war of India's liberation can never be lost. Mahatma Gandhi's release was primarily due to the Indian National Army's advance. Britain wants to come to an agreement with the

Congress but that will be another defeat. Mahatmaji will be glad when the National Army enters Calcutta and he will send me a congratulatory telegram. It is then that Indian help will be most needed. We must possess two things to win independence (i) high and noble aspirations, and (ii) the resolution not to deviate an inch from our chosen path. The Indian National Army will continue to fight till India is free. I am glad that the efforts of this Army are bearing fruit, even though slowly. The troops venerate their ancestors who sacrificed their lives for their country, and their thirst for freedom knows no limits. Those who fell fighting for their country's independence rest in peace but their spirits will be happy only when India is free. Every Indian should work on the above principles"

—RANGOON RADIO, May 18, 1944.

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"In an interview with a Japanese war correspondent, Netaji Bose stated that the British cannot hope to stop the advance of the Indian National Army since every man in the Army is determined to fight to the last. He expressed his confidence in the Indian National Army and the Japanese forces co-operating with them, and stated that all British attempts to stem their advance will fail. Continuing, he said that Mahatmaji's release was proof of British weakness, and that Gandhiji will now be able to fulfil his promise to form a reception committee to welcome Netaji into India at the head of the Indian National Army of Liberation. In conclusion, he said that all the officers and men of the Army have taken a vow not to lay down arms till India was free, and Netaji was certain that the day was not far off when India would attain complete freedom. The Japanese correspondent says that Netaji moves freely amongst the men of the Indian National Army and lives the life of a common soldier, free from ostentation or luxury and that so much of his time is devoted to supervising the organisation of the camps, that he often does not get even three hours sleep in the night."

—RANGOON RADIO, May 21, 1944

" The gist of an interview that our war correspondent has had with Mr. Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, has reached us from the Indo-Burmese Front. Mr. Bose told our correspondent, 'Although a price of tens of thousands of rupees had been placed on my head when I disappeared from Calcutta I made good my escape nearly four years ago. Since then, the British have transformed the Indo-Burmese frontier into a fortified border to check my return at the head of the Indian National Army and to prevent India from attaining freedom. However, our free Indian soldiers, actually fighting on their own ground, are sure that no amount of British might or force will ever stop me or my comrades from achieving our goal of liberating India. Given time and opportunity, and that time and opportunity has now arrived, we shall succeed.' Concerning the release of Mahatma Gandhi by the British authorities, he said, 'Before I left Calcutta Mahatma Gandhi called me in a private conference and assured me that he would be the first person to send me a congratulatory telegram if I succeed in my military resistance. I am sure that the promise will be kept on the day I am again in Calcutta.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, May 22, 1944.

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" Sjt. S. C. Bose, President of the Provisional Government of India, who is at present in India with his Army, declared to pressmen: 'I have no doubt at all that Germany will completely crush the enemy's invasion attempt, which was opened under pressure from Moscow. The fate of Britain will be sealed and the Yankee dream of dominating the world shattered. After two weeks of stiff fighting, costing them heavy losses, the enemy find themselves without a single port in France. Even now the Anglo-American war-mongers are reeling under the blows, and I am sure they now realise that their foolhardiness has led them to the brink of suicide. Unlike the hysterical, shouting British, the Germans are calmly and bravely doing their duty. They are firmly convinced that they are on the road to victory.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO* (in Bengali), June 21, 1944.

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" At a Press Conference in Singapore, Netaji Bose declared that although he has been away from India for some time he knows his India better than any Britisher. 'I know', said Netaji Bose, ' that the majority of the members of the Indian National Congress and the Indian populace are resolutely opposed to any compromise with the British Government, because all true Indians want a complete extinction of the British Empire. This is why the British Government has imprisoned all Indian leaders who can truly speak for India. The 'Quit India' Resolution is but an expression of the irrevocable will of the Indian nation.'

" Mr. Bose said that in the last war, because Japan was on the side of the Allies the Anglo-Americans had been free to direct their operations against Western Europe and the East. Indian nationalists could not import war material owing to the blockade of the sea routes and the close guarding of the North-Western approaches to India. But now the liberation armies have been able to enter India through the eastern gates. In the present war the enemy forces are scattered in the East and West, and Allied defeats at the hands of the Japanese Navy have given an impetus to India's freedom movement. Mr. Bose added that the already staggering British Empire was sure to crumble soon. This America-sustained Empire which had been rapidly defeated from Hong Kong to the Chindwin River, can never be revived. Mr. Bose further said that there were only two questions that merited their attention, namely, whether Britain could regain what she had lost and whether she could maintain her hold on India with American help. He said that he had been concerned over the first question until Mr. Roosevelt declared that the Americans were directing their efforts against Western Europe. 'America cannot, however, keep up her people's morale if she has to fight both the war in Europe and Asia', said Mr. Bose. He added, 'She cannot afford to stake her all in the war. The 'do and die' spirit, the greatest essential for winning a war, which is obvious in Japan is solely lacking in America, and this will be a deciding factor in the long run. The Anglo-Americans have been declaring loudly that they will deal with Japan, after finishing with Germany in Europe, but it would be well to wait and see how events in Europe go.' He prophesied that the European war would leave the Allies totally wrecked and in no state to defeat Japan. History will prove how suicidal a two-front war can be.

"Mr. Bose further said that America and Britain were not fighting for their existence as they claimed, but for world domination, and therefore, they could not exist for long. He went on to say, 'Production alone cannot keep up a

people's morale. Even if the Anglo-Americans win the war in Europe they can never be a danger to Japan, because she, too, has increased her production since the war.' Mr. Bose said that he did not see how America could possibly beat Japan. They had certainly succeeded in taking certain unimportant specific Islands, but they could never break through the inner defences of Japan.

"Replying to a question whether India would gain freedom, Mr. Bose said that the opening of the Eastern gates of India had completely changed the situation. The Provisional Government of 3,000,000 Indians in the East had been recognised by nine friendly Governments. These Indians have no differences, the creation of which has been the most effective British weapon in India. They have pledged themselves to fight for freedom with their own Army and to uproot British Imperialism from India, and in this task they are being aided by the Japanese and other friendly powers. Quoting from Irish history, he said that 5,000 Irishmen had destroyed 50,000 Englishmen. He said that from information given by British Indian Army deserters and Indian nationalists who were working silently in India, he could safely say that the day of India's emancipation was not far off. Mr. Bose said that the Indian movement for freedom would be a tough one because the British were struggling hard to preserve their empire in India, but he felt certain that complete victory will ultimately crown their efforts."

– *AZAD HIND RADIO* (Singapore) July 9, 1944.

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"Addressing a Press Conference held at the Indian National Army Headquarters in India, Netajee Bose said, 'I have been keenly and hopefully following the developments of our final struggle for freedom. Only by assessing what our achievements have been last year can we obtain a clear idea of what we shall be able to finally achieve. I know from experience that East Asiatic Indians stand solidly behind me, and will fully co-operate in the total mobilization of our resources. We have successfully crossed the border of our Motherland, and have routed the enemy on several fronts in India. There was a time when some doubted whether the Indian National Army would ever be able to meet the British face to face and defeat them. We have passed the test with credit, and now we are fully confident of our final victory. The battle for Indian freedom has begun, and is being waged on

Indian soil. Now it has become our very own fight for freedom. Our enemies say that our advance has not been rapid during the past few weeks. It is not surprising. On more than one occasion I have pointed out to my countrymen that the real fighting will begin only when we cross the border into India. I, too, have been getting ready for this event. Today, we are just as confident as we were when we began our 'March to Delhi.' You must know that so far I have received only one complaint from our men at the front and that is about the delay in launching the final offensive. The men of the Indian National Army, who are now in hospital, have only one wish and it is to be sent to the front as soon as they are well again. There are three very good reasons for my confidence in victory, firstly the formation of Provisional Government of free India; secondly, the crossing of the Indian National Army into India, and its successes; and, thirdly, the factors in our favour on the Indo-Burma front. The enemy now happens to be engaged in many places far distant from each other which has caused a dissipation of resources. The enemy's recent landings in France have already helped us.'

"After briefly reviewing the world war situation, particularly that of Europe, Netaji said that India had before her a golden opportunity to attain freedom. He continued, 'Our enemy is being harassed on various fronts. This is our opportunity. If he is given time our enemy will be able to bring his troops now fighting in France or on other fronts to fight and oppose us with all his strength. But, I am confident that in the end Germany will be able to drive the Anglo-Americans out of France.'

"Referring to India and the political developments there, Netaji said that Mahatma Gandhi's reiteration of the 'Quit India' demand made it clear that the Indian people did not want a compromise. He continued, 'The Gandhi-Wavell correspondence that has been recently published clearly indicates that Gandhiji will be sent to jail very shortly. This state of affairs has strengthened the determination of the masses and put their back up. Indians will themselves have to fight for their liberation from British tutelage and they should, therefore, join the Indian National Army, and thus hasten final victory. There is now no hope of any settlement between British imperialism and Nationalist India.' "

– *TOKYO RADIO*, August 5, 1944.

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At a Press conference, Rashtrapati S C. Bose, referring to the brilliant Japanese victories off the Philippines: stated, 'A few days ago I issued a statement on the battles off Formosa,

and predicted that the initiative would no longer rest with the enemy. I contended that during the fluctuations in the fortunes of war, one naturally experiences a certain amount of doubt. Now our allies have gained the upper hand. The course of the war in Europe and the successes of the German forces has an intimate bearing upon the general situation in the Far East. The turn of events in Europe also foreshadows an enormous change. I personally believe that the second phase of the war is about to finish, and that the third and final phase will develop in favour of the Axis. Another reason for the importance of the Philippines battle is its close bearing upon our war of India's liberation. It will reduce American man-power and shake their morale.' Concluding, Netaji pointed out that the present situation will greatly help to widen the gulf of differences between the Anglo-Americans and the Russians.

"Netaji stressed that the Pacific situation and the world developments revealed that the initiative had passed into the hands of the Axis and that the third phase of this war would begin with their offensive. He said that the second stage of the war, which witnessed the counter-offensive of the enemy, had almost reached its end. Netaji said that the Japanese success in the Pacific would inevitably help the operations of the Indian National Army on the Indo-Burma front.

"'Referring to the heroic struggle of the Germans in Europe, Netaji Bose praised their national spirit and determination, and stressed that it would be impossible to defeat the Germans because the entire nation had risen against their enemies, and exposed the falsity of Anglo-American propaganda which was clamouring that after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, Allied troops would be concentrated in the Pacific. Netaji declared, 'This is propaganda nonsense because they would have to maintain their full pressure against Germany even if she were defeated. The Anglo-Americans must preserve their full military strength in Europe, in view of the fact that the relations between them and the Soviet Union are very strained. They also feared lest the Bolsheviks should spread their influence throughout the Continent.' Netaji was certain that the future developments would bring defeat to the Anglo-Americans.

" Referring to the recent enemy counter-offensive and aggression, Netaji said that the Anglo-Americans anticipated a serious shortage and exhaustion of their manpower if the war was prolonged, and, therefore, they were anxious to end the war as soon as possible. He compared the present war with the struggle between spiritualism and materialism, and expressed his faith in the force of the spirit which would, he

felt confident, be finally victorious. Netaji declared that the primary aim of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was to mobilize the material and spiritual resources of the Indians in East Asia, and utilize the experiences gained during the past operations in preparation for future offensive. Netaji laid stress on the fact that the morale of the Indian soldiers, who were anxious to continue their fight, was high.

" Referring to the internal conditions of India, he stated that the Indians were highly delighted at the defeat of the enemy off the Philippines and Taiwan, which raised their hopes for the ultimate destruction of the British."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon) October 26, 1944.

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" At a Press conference in Burma, President S. C. Bose highly praised the bravery of the Japanese troops in the Philippines. He said, ' We have put an end to the so-called, victories achieved by the enemy in the beginning. The tide has now turned and the future of this war depends on the important battles now being fought in the Philippines. We have achieved notable victories and we will achieve more in spite of the increasing strength of the enemy. The world talks of another phase in this war, but I say the second round has already ended. We are now entering the final phase. Our operations on the Indo-Burma Front depend on the course of the war in the Philippines. Soon we shall achieve final victory, and with God's grace India will be free.' "

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon) October 27, 1944.

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" Sjt. S. C. Bose, in the course of an interview with pressmen, stated that the declaration of war by the Provisional Government of Free India upon Britain and America affirmed India's conviction that the Anglo-Americans were her enemies. He added that the time was not far off when the Anglo-Americans will know that this declaration of war is not an empty threat. Japan's recognition of the Provisional Government and its Army had lent strength to the Indians and increased their enthusiasm. In conclusion, he said that two of the wishes of the Indians had come true, and it was up to

them now to realize the third, namely, the launching of an armed struggle for the liberation of their Motherland.

—*AZAD HIND RADIO* (Singapore) October 28, 1944.

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"The Head of the Provisional Government, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, delivered a speech at a reception given to him by the Foreign Press. He said that the fighting on the Indian frontier is decisive for the entire Indian struggle for liberty. Although the Indian Army of Liberation had to be withdrawn from some frontier sectors due to strategical reasons and weather conditions, it would soon be able to launch new attacks. Mr. Bose went on to say that the British Press is quite aware of the fact that the battle for India has to be fought on the Indian frontiers He added that the jungle and hill positions constituted a sort of Maginot Line for the British, which is not so difficult to defend. Concluding his speech, Mr. Bose stated that the Army of Liberation is in a position to march on to Indian soil now. But, it would not do so until all preparations had been made to take over such territories as would be liberated.

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 7, 1944.

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"In a statement to the representatives of the Foreign Press, Netaji Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, said, 'Indians will take their full share in the war against Britain. They will throw in all their resources to defeat the enemy. I have come to Tokyo to see General Koiso and other Japanese Ministers personally, as I want greater collaboration with Japan on military matters and wish to discuss military affairs with Japanese military officials. The Free India Army declared war against America and Britain on October 23, last year, after which we immediately launched an offensive in Burma and the Arakan. We are about to enter the final phase of our battle. Indians in East Asia have been working hard for the

last sixteen months. We formed a war Council to speed up recruitment for the Free India Army as we did not want to lag behind any nation in our military preparations.' Speaking of the military situation on the Indo-Burma front, Netaji said, "The Free India Army is making preparations for a new offensive. Some of our units are already on Indian soil and the rest are in Burma. We shall have no difficulty in advancing into India. We shall not rest till she is free from British subjection."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 8, 1944.

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"In a press interview somewhere in Burma, Netaji S.C. Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, declared that as a result of his recent talks with the Japanese military experts the Indian National Army would very shortly launch its offensive. He revealed that both Japan and Germany have launched an all-out offensive against their enemies and expressed the hope that Japan and Germany would very shortly establish their superiority in these final battles Netaji emphasised that India would play an important part in this new phase of the war and expressed the hope that the Indian National Army would liberate India from the clutches of the British pirates. Praising the Japanese 'Special Air Attack Corps,' Netaji stated that he was much impressed by the brilliant performances and heroic exploits of its members and added that troops of the Indian National Army would follow the noble example of the gallant Japanese troops and fight firm with determination and valour and deliver their Motherland."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, January 2, 1945.

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"After his arrival in Rangoon, the President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, Mr. S.C. Bose, expressed his conviction to the members of the Press that Mahatma Gandhi and his numerous followers would give the I.N.A. their full moral, if not physical, support once the Army succeeded in entering India. Mr. Bose stated: 'There is no doubt

that Mahatma Gandhi will not only not work against us in spite of the fact that the principle of non-violence which he has always advocated, might prevent him from supporting the fight with arms, but assist us as far as possible. He will, however, give the Army his full support. The greater part of his followers will also support us, although we are not countng on older people. Mahatmaji's younger followers are coming more and more to see the necessity for force."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 7, 1943.

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"In the course of a Press interview with the Tokyo correspondent of the Italian paper *Girone d' Italia*, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose declared that he had left India in January 1941 in order to establish contacts with the Axis Powers, and to prepare the Indians abroad for the war of Indian Independence. Asked why he had come to Japan, Mr. Bose replied that he wanted to complete his programme of contacting all the three Axis Powers, and added, 'I can struggle and fight for the independence of my country more efficaciously from Japan as it is nearer to India than other Axis countries.' In conclusion Mr. Bose declared, 'India must achieve her desired goal with her own strength without alien aid and we will only ask for outside assistance when we have used up our last resources and failed to achieve our goal'".

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), July 3, '43.

CHAPTER IV
Indian National Army

Indian National Army

"Netaji S. C. Bose, the Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, has issued a proclamation regarding the historic campaign launched by Indian's Army of Liberation in conjunction with its invincible ally, the Imperial Japanese Army. Netaji declared that the Azad Hind Fauj is now rapidly making its way to its destination, and expressed his unbounded optimism in the victory of this Army of Free India. Declaring that he would let events speak for themselves rather than touch on the future activities of the Indian National Army at the present juncture, Netaji said : 'We are working according to plan, and in the fullness of time, we will be able to redeem our solemn pledge to liberate our motherland.' Netaji added, 'We have full confidence in our own strength. We have compelete faith in our ally, and we have unbounded optimism regarding national victory. We shall go on toiling and fighting till our flag flutters over India's metropolis.' Netaji said that the exploits of the Indian National Army would disprove the lying British propagandist claim that the *Azad Hind Fauj* does not exist, and that the news of the formation of the Indian National Army is a mere propaganda stunt. He stressed that the Indian National Army was now on its march to Delhi, and added that he laughs best who laughs last.

" Continuing, Netaji added ; 'The Indian National Army has already marched towards the East Indian border. Therefore, it is quite natural that the Provisional Government of Free India should also march together with the Army. It is for that purpose that the Headquarters of the Provisional Government has been shifted to Burma. I am certain that our struggle will succeed. There are three main reasons which support my conviction :—(i) The Indian revolutionaries are in constant touch with the Indian National Army and are eagerly awaiting the time when it will invade India. Both Indian civilians and the Indian sepoys and officers in the British Indian Army are ready to join the Army when the hour strikes and the Indian National Army enters India ; (ii) the Indian National Army is now strong enough to crush the Anglo-American and Chinese forces in India which may resist its entry, and (iii) Japan and her East-Asiatic allies are prepared to do all in their power to assist us in our struggle against British imperialism.' In conclusion, Netaji stated that the Indian war of independence, which commenced in 1857, was now drawing to a close, and expressed the conviction that the attack of the Indian National Army from outside and the strengthening of the internal agitation will together destroy British imperialism completely and liberate India."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, January 8, 1914.

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SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY

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Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj, Burma

Dated the 9th February, 1944.

" The eyes of the whole world are focussed on the Arakan Front, where events of far-reaching consequences are taking place today. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of the *Azad Hind Fauj* working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nippon Army have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American forces to start counter-offensive in this sector. I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan Front will be a great inspiration to all Officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* whether they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long-awaited march to Delhi has begun and with grim determination; we shall continue that march until the tricolour National Flag that is flying over the Arakan mountains is hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge and until we hold our victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi.

"Comrades, officers and men of India's Army of Liberation! Let there be one solemn rosolve in your hearts—'Either liberty or death'. And let there but one slogan on your lips 'Onward to Delhi.' The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. That is the road along which we must march. Victory will certainly be ours."

"Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

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"Netaji S. C. Bose, Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, in an order of the Day says: 'We, the men of the Indian National Army, are fighting for the liberation of our Motherland on her own sacred soil. Now the enemy has realised our military strength and the days of British imperialism in India are numbered. To maintain their iron grip on India the British are recklessly sacrificing their men and material on the Indo-Burma Front. We have reached the hardest phase of our freedom struggle and we have full faith in our final victory. Our magnificent successes and the series of Allied defeats have only guaranteed our ultimate success. In the name of the Almighty and the Indian people, our troops are sacrificing their lives in the battlefield."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, May 21, 1944.

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"Netaji S. C. Bose, Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, has sent the following message to the Indian National Army, now fighting on Indian soil: 'I have firm faith in the Indian National Army's final victory and the plans laid at the February Conference which are bearing fruit. You are fighting heroically and successfully on the sacred soil of the Motherland. You may remember I warned you of the hazardous task that lay before you, and now that you are fighting on Indian soil you must be prepared to make the geatest sacrifices for this noble cause—the liberation of your Motherland. Your victories have perturbed the enemy, who is fighting stubbornly to save his prestige, and will do everything in his power to stem your progress. But, whatever, may be the cost of this battle, victory is sure'."

"Netaji also sent a message to volunteers of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in East Asia which reads as follows: 'Sisters, today you have volunteered to serve and liberate your Motherland and to uphold the glorious name of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Indian National Army and I have entrusted you with most important duties, involving the greatest self-sacrifice. I am confident that this famous regiment will be an example to the womanhood of the world. I wish to see hundreds of such regiments fighting for the same noble cause—the liberation of our Motherland. You will soon be fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with your brothers of the Indian National Army, and will have opportunities of covering yourselves with glory. I am very much impressed by the services of this regiment on the Indo-Burma front, and I am convinced that they are efficient and capable of making the greatest personal sacrifices. It is for this reason that I formed this regiment. I hope that each one of you will prove worthy of your name and speed in final victory.' "

— *RANGOON RADIO*, May 28, 1944.

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Comrades of *Azad Hind Fauj*!

"In the middle of March this year, advanced units of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their valiant allies, the Imperial Nippon Forces, crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

"The British authorities, by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them, had managed to put up a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo-Burma border, inspired by the righteousness of our cause, encountered these numerically superior and better equipped, but heterogeneous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle. Our units, with their better training and discipline and unshakable determination to do or die on the path of India's freedom soon established their superiority over the enemy, whose morale deteriorated with each defeat. Fighting under the most trying conditions our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice, these heroes have established traditions which the future soldier of free India shall have to uphold. All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal when torrential rains overtook us, and to carry Imphal by an assault was rendered a tactical impossibility. Handicapped by the elements, we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of offensive, it was found disadvantageous for our troops to continue to hold the line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position, it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops. In accordance with this decision, our troops have withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position. We shall now utilise the period of lull in completing our preparations, so that with the advent of better weather, we may be in a position to resume our offensive. Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front, our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of the Anglo-American forces of aggression has increased ten-fold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion to duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours.

"May the souls of those heroes who have fallen in this campaign inspire us to still nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India's War and Liberation. "Jai Hind !"

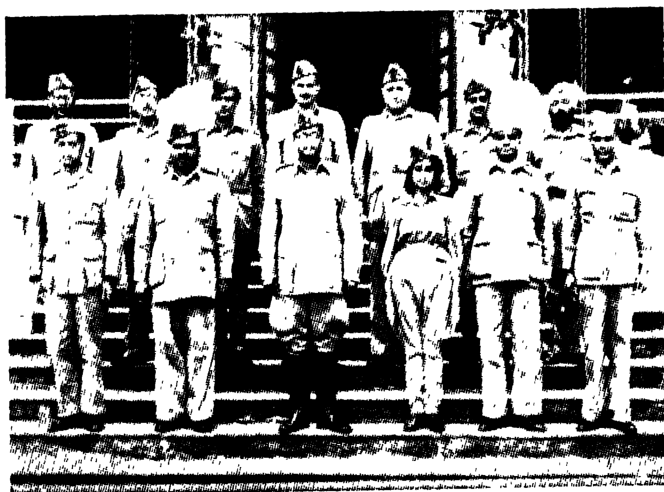
(Sd) Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander,

Azad Hind Fauj, **Burma, 14th August 1944.**

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NETAJI reading the Special Proclamation when I. N. A. entered India



Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind

● "In the course of a speech from the Indian National Army Headquarters Broadcasting Station, Netaji severely condemned the insidious propaganda carried out by Indian radio stations, especially by the anti-Indian Delhi Radio. He pointed out that the aim of this propaganda was to suppress the awakening national consciousness of the Indian people, and to prevent them from participating in the struggle for freedom. He declared: 'I have been keenly watching the methods employed by Allied propagandists. So far they have been unable to do anything besides calling my Indian National Army a puppet army. Abuse always follows realization of one's own weaknesses. British propaganda is founded on exaggeration, distortion of the truth and brazen lying. I am glad that they have stooped so low. If they continue like this, they will be a great help to us, bringing near the day of final victory. During the last twelve months, Allied propagandists have adopted many methods to confuse the Indians, and prejudice them against Japan and the Indian National Army. When the formation of the Indian National Army was first announced they were discreetly silent. When they realized that the news was known, they stated that it was a nominal army of war prisoners compelled by Japan to fight against their own people, and that it cannot achieve anything. When the Indian National Army fought in the Arakan in February, the British said that this Army was still outside India, and that it would not be able to cross the Indian frontier. Contrary to their expectations and their boasting it did so in March. While it was fighting in Manipur it was pointed out that Manipur was thousands miles away, and that the Indian National Army would find it impossible to advance further inland. Then they started calling the Army a puppet army, and said that its equipment was very inferior to that of the British Indian Army. I am cofident that we, who have achieved so much with our old-fashioned rifles and ineffective ammunition, will be able to liberate the Motherland with the very same weapons and equipment. The British may have superior and more modern arms, but weapons alone cannot win the fight. Did the British troops at Singapore surrender because they were ill-equipped? Was France's fall due to inferioity in army equipment? Victory is certain to those who are prepared to lay down their lives to achieve it. In 1940, the British tried to explain their defeat by saying that Germany was too weak to attack England. In the same way, to cover up their defeat in the East, they say that we cannot invade India. Whatever they do, they cannot hide the fact that all their plans for recapturing Burma have been upset by the Indian National Army's successes in East India. We know, however, that they cannot win the support of Indians by lying to them.' In conclusion, Netaji said, 'All this propaganda will not have any effect

on our determination. We shall not rest till we have planted the national tricolour on the Red Fort in Delhi. Jai Hind'. "

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), August 18, 1944.

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" Netaji S. C. Bose has sent the following message to the men and officers of the Indian Army of Liberation: 'The Indian Army of Liberation is fighting along with her gallant Allies, the Japanese, in order to liberate India. Both men and officers have presented a brilliant record of service to the Motherland. Owing to bad weather conditions they have relaxed their offensive, and have consolidated their positions. We are eagerly waiting for better weather. We know battles are won only by the brave. We are confident that victory will be ours. "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 30, 1944.

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" This is the Indian National Army Shonan Broadcasting Station. We now present to you Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's special Order of the Day to the *Azad Hind Fauj*.

" Comrades of the *Azad Hind Fauj!* On this auspicious New Year's Day I want you, first of all, to look back on your achievements and on your progress since the formation of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. There can be no doubt whatsoever that in spite of many difficulties and drawbacks your achievements and progress have been truly remarkable. This has been possible only because of the passionate desire for freedom which inspires the Indian people today, the many-sided assistance rendered by our countrymen in East Asia, the valuable aid offered by our Allies and above all the hard work and sacrifice that you yourselves have put in. Before the end of 1943, units of the *Azad Hind Fauj* began moving in the direction of the Indo-Burma Frontier. On February 4, 1944, Indian's war of independence was launched in the Arakan region of Burma. On March 21, 1944, we were able to proclaim to the whole world that the *Azad Hind Fauj* had crossed the Eastern frontier of India and was fighting on the sacred soil of India.

Since then the fight has been going on, and in the course of that campaign many of our comrades have laid down their lives on the field of battle. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* in India's war of independence have already become a priceless heritage for the India of tomorrow; while, for the *Azad Hind Fauj* itself they have become a glorious and undying tradition which will serve as an inspiration for all times. Comrades! on this auspicious day I want you all to pay silent homage to our immortal heroes and to renew your solemn pledge to continue the fight until complete victory is achieved. India is calling you, the souls of your comrades are urging you on to still braver deeds, therefore, gird up your loins for the hard battle that lies ahead. There can be no rest and no pause for us until our tri-colour National Flag is hoisted over India's Metropolis. Comrades! our immortal heroes have paid for India's liberty with their own blood, we are proud of them, but we too must be ready for that supreme sacrifice."

Broadcast from SINGAPORE, January 2, 1945.

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"Comrades! As you all know, the positive achievements of the officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* last year on the field of battle and the victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New Year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out; and that in this year's operations the *Azad Hind Fauj* would be able to put up an unsullied record of heroism and self-sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of five officers of the H. Q of the 2nd Division has come as an eye-opener to us that all is not well within our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all, this shameful and despicable incident may, through God's grace, ultimately prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am, therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support. In order to destroy completely the germs of cowardice and treachery the following measures will have to be adopted :

1. Every member of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, Officer, N.C.O. or Sepoy will, in future, be entitled to arrest any other member of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, no matter whatever his rank may be, if he behaves in a cowardly manner or to shoot him if he acts in a treacherous manner.

2. I am giving an opportunity to all members of the *Azad Hind Fauj* who may not feel inclined to work dutifully or fight courageously in future to leave the ranks of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. This offer will be open for one week from the time of its communication.

3. In addition to giving an opportunity to unwilling elements to leave voluntarily the ranks of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, I want to carry out thorough purge of our Army. During the course of this purge, all those will be removed against whom there is suspicion that they may fail us, or betray us, at the critical moment. In order to carry out this purge successfully I want your fullest co-operation and I want you, therefore, to give me and my trusted officers all available information about any cowardly or treacherous elements that may still exist in our Army.

4. It will not be enough to carry out a thorough purge now. In future also vigilance will have to continue. It will, therefore, be the duty of every member of the *Azad Hind Fauj* in future, to keep his eyes and ears open in order to detect in good time any tendency towards cowardice or treachery. In future, if any member of the *Azad Hind Fauj* detects any tendency towards cowardice or treachery, he should report at once, either orally or in writing, either to me or to the officers who may be within reach. In other words, from now onwards and for all times, every member of the *Azad Hind Fauj* should regard himself as the custodian of the honour and reputation of the *Azad Hind Fauj* and of the Indian Nation.

5. After the purge has been carried out and unwilling elements have been given an opportunity of leaving our Army, if there is any case of cowardice or treachery, the punishment will be death.

6. In order to create within our Army a moral bulwark against cowardice and treachery, we have to create an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery in any form. A strong feeling has to be created in the mind of every member of this Army that for a member of a revolutionary army, there is no crime more heinous and despicable than to be a coward or a traitor. Instructions are being issued separately as to how we can create such an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery so that there will be no more cowards or traitors within our ranks.

7. After the purge has been carried out, every member of the *Azad Hind Fauj* will be required to renew his oath to fight on bravely and courageously until the emancipation of our dear Motherland is achieved. Instructions regarding the form and manner of this oath will be issued separately.

8. Special rewards will be given to those who give information regarding cowardly and treacherous elements or who arrest or shoot at the front cowardly and treacherous elements.

(Sd.) SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj, Burma, Dated 13th March 1945.

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"Officers and men of the British Indian Army in India, Jai Hind ! This is the Indian National Army (Shonan) Broadcasting Station. You will now hear the statement of Netaji S. C. Bose on the treatment of members of the *Azad Hind Fauj* captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma: 'Information has reached us from a reliable source in Burma which shows that vindictive and brutal treatment is being meted out to officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* (the Indian National Army) who have been captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma, and in particular the British. These people have always been in the habit of condemning Germany and Japan for their supposed illtreatment of the Anglo-American prisoners-of-war. I would now like to ask what the Anglo-Americans themselves are doing to the members of the *Azad Hind Fauj* who happen to fall into their hands in Burma. Though the Allied Forces in Burma belong to several nationalities, it is upon the British alone that the sole responsibility as regards the illtreatment of officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* devolves. The British authorities cannot even invent the excuse that the men of the *Azad Hind Fauj* had been forced into service, and that a few were volunteers; and that good treatment would be meted out to only those who had been forced to join. It cannot also be said that this is a reprisal against the bad treatment meted out by us to Allied prisoners of war, because the only allied troops who fell into our hands were those who voluntarily came and joined the *Azad Hind Fauj*. Even the New Delhi Radio admitted some days ago that all those who joined the *Azad Hind Fauj* receive good treatment. It may be that the British authorities think that we are not in a position to retaliate, and that they can, therefore, do with our officers and men what they like. But this is not so. If we are forced to do so we shall find ways and means for taking retaliatory measures in case they con-

tinue to illtreat and persecute the officers and men of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. But, before we are forced to take retaliatory measures, there is one way open to us, and that is not only efficacious but easy. If our countrymen at home take up this matter and carry on a raging campaign for India, I am absolutely sure that the British authorities will be brought to their senses and will see the error of their ways. Public opinion in India may not be strong enough to force the British to concede independence to India, but it is certainly strong enough to stop the ill-treatment and persecution of members of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, who have become prisoners-of-war in the hands of the British. Members of the *Azad Hind Fauj* are honest patriots and revolutionaries, fighting for the freedom of their Motherland. They no doubt fought bravely and stubbornly against the British, but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to humane treatment in captivity, in accordance with international convention. Consequently, I appeal to my countrymen to take up the cause of their own prisoners-of-war who fought for India's liberation and who are now receiving brutal and vindictive treatment at the hands of the British. I appeal to them all to compel the British authorities to divulge correct information about the fate of these prisoners-of-war, so that the world may judge how far the British themselves observe the rules of warfare to which they pay so much lip-service'!"

—*Broadcast From SINGAPORE*, June 14, 1945.

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"In a broadcast to the officers and men of the Indian National Army, Netaji Bose said, 'My comrades of the Indian National Army! Last year, on October 21, the Provisional Government of Free India was established. That was almost one year ago. There has been a marked progress in India's Freedom movement during this year and it is the first time since her slavery that a Free Government of India has been established. The importance of this Government of India is due to the fact that it is supported by a powerful Army. What can be more encouraging than the fact that at last a powerful Indian Army of Liberation has been mobilised, and what can bring more joy to an Indian than being able to call himself a soldier of this force? I can honestly state that my countrymen have, by God's grace, accorded me a great respect,

but I feel that every soldier of the Indian National Army be he a sepoy or an officer enjoys equal esteem. Throughout my life I have not enjoyed a greater honour. Sooner or later death comes to all, but we have pledged ourselves to die with a smile on our lips in the fight for freedom. We also know that the names of those who die fighting for India will be written in letters of gold in the pages of our history. You may remember that at a military parade last year in Shonan, I gave the Indian National Army a slogan. It was 'Onward to Delhi.' It has now become the war cry of a gallant band of patriots as they go forward in the battle for our freedom. It will be on their lips when they march into their homeland, to free her from the ignoble bondage of slavery.

"Comrades, you should remember that before our forces marched from Shonan last year I gave a clear warning that this struggle for freedom will not be easy and that it will entail vast sacrifices and require the surmounting of unimaginable hardships and disappointments. Our men have had to bear hardships during their march to India and later. The end of our struggle has yet to come. But that will not deter us from our efforts to do all we can in this great struggle. I have just arrived in Rangoon after visiting our men at the front, and I can say with that their morale is very high and that they are impatiently awaiting the order to advance upon their enemy. It is now clear to the whole world as well as to our enemies that the Indian National Army is a People's Army which is determined to win the battle of freedom at all cost. It will continue its fight till the appointed goal -the liberation of India— is achieved. We have learnt many lessons and know what strategy should be adopted next. We will make use of this experience in preparing for the battle to come.

"Comrades! During the last battle we fought, which was on a front extending from Akyab to Kohima, the enemy did not achieve a single victory. He had either to retreat or his progress was stemmed at every turn. The whole world knows this and realises that there is only one reason for it ; the high morale of our men as opposed to the low morale of our enemies. We were fighting against heavy odds and superior numbers and equipment. We advanced full of hope that our first attack would result in the capture of Imphal. By bad luck it failed, but I can say with pride that up to this time we have advanced and kept the enemy forces firmly in check. With the coming of the rains when it became impossible to supply our forces, we were forced to abandon our operations, and, on merely strategic ground, decided to spend this enforced respite in preparing ourselves for future operations which will assuredly bring us success. The enemy advance after we had carried out our strategic and planned retreat, constitutes their 'glorious victories' and 'rapid advances.'

Only we, who have first-hand experience of this fighting know the true position. We know now that our strength is far superior to our enemy's and that every soldier of the Indian National Army is fired with grim determination and an unshakable faith in final victory. We shall go on fighting till victory is won'."

—*VOICE OF INDIA RADIO* (Rangoon), June 18, 1945.

CHAPTER V
Miscellaneous Statements

MISCELLANEOUS STATEMENTS

" Wearing an expression of full determination Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose mounted the platform and amidst enthusiastic clapping he delivered a spirited and fiery address in Hindustani. Vehemently attacking British policy in India Mr. Bose declared that the seeds of hatred which the British had sown all these years were developing into forces which would soon overthrow their rule in India. The freedom we are after cannot be attained unless we are prepared to shed our blood and are unwilling to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by suffering and privation. Mr. Bose emphasised that for the sake of freedom no amount of sacrifice is too big, no amount of bloodshed too horrible.

" Mr. Bose continued, ' In conclusion, I desire to draw your attention to the 6th of September, 1942, on which day the Viceroy desires pro-British demonstrations to be organized. I call upon you to organise on our side an ' All-India Day ' on September 6, for opposing and breaking up all Govermental demonstrations, and for holding counter demonstrations, demanding that the Britishers should leave India at once. In other words, observe September 6, as the 'National Quit India Day,' not only in British India but in all the States as well. Let there be meetings and demonstrations from one end of the country to the other. Let the sky be rent with the shouts of ' Go back John Bull,' and write these words in every conceivable place on walls, on tramcars, on trees, and even on the backs of animals, in fact everywhere. And last but not least, litter the whole country with the letters ' Q. I.' meaning 'Quit India,' so that wherever a Britisher turns his eyes he will find these letters ' Q. I.' staring him in the face. Thus on September 6, you should rouse such a revolutionary spirit in India as will sound the death-knell of British Imperialism'. "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, September 12, 1942.

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" In an article in the *Will And Power*, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose writes, ' The British Government is responsible for the growing unrest and uneasiness in India. The British are desirous of reducing her to a state of perpetual slavery. They have always been exploiting her natural wealth. The Indians are determined to get rid of their alien masters. They will

establish home rule and wield power themselves. Ony a free India can improve her economic and social conditions. Indians alone should have a voice in the management of the affairs of their country. It is they who will decide the form of their Government'."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, October 6, 1942.

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"Speaking over the Radio on Monday, the noted Indian leader in Berlin, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, addressed the Indian people and said that now is the most opportune moment for the Indian people the world over to fight against the British to gain freedom for India. Mr. Bose pointed out that the British authorities are trying to hide the real Indian situation but that the whole world is constantly informed of the Indian situation, as a result of which even public opinion in Britain and in the country of her Allies is now against the policy of Churchill, Amery and Cripps. 'The Indian people,' he said, will continue to fight until the total destruction of the British Empire is achieved.' The latest speech of Subhas Chandra Bose has created deep impression all over the world. Everywhere the Press is giving wide publicity to his message. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose stressed the significance of the Indian war of Independence and enumerated the atrocities committed by the British on unarmed Indians who were struggling hard to gain their independence by peaceful means. He expressed his admiration for the courage and bravery of his compatriots and congratulated them on their great sacrifices in the noble cause of fighting for the freedom of their Motherland.

He said that it was a pleasure to see that even the subjects of the Indian States were actively participating in the national movement. He congratulates Khan Bahadur Allah Bux on his renunciation of the title 'Khan Bahadur,' and pointed out that the majority of the Muslims, except those in the Muslim League, had joined the Congress and were fighting side by side with their Hindu brethren for the emancipation of India. He condemned the Hindu Mahasabha and the Akali Sikh leaders for their selfish policy of ignoring the national cause and for trying to secure power and influence for themselves. He assured Mr. Jinnah that his Pakistan scheme would never materialise so long as the British were in India.

He emphasised that Pakistan could be created only under a National Government. He requested Mr. Jinnah to unite the Muslim League with the Congress and help India to attain free-

dom. He then addressed the Indian soldiers and asked them not to render any sort of aid to the British, but to fight against their alien masters. He appealed to the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to help the nationalists and make the war of Independence a success. He then asked Indian nationals in Ceylon to co-operate with the nationalists in India and drive away the British from their country. He called upon Indian nationals in Europe, Asia, Africa and America to play their part in the Indian War of Independence, sacrificing if need be, their very lives for the freedom of their Motherland. He expressed the hope that India would surely gain her independence in the near future."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, October 7, 1942.

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"Referring to the recent statement made by the British Journalist Vernon Bartlett, to the effect that he (Bose) had become an instrument of German propaganda, Mr. S. C. Bose stressed that his propaganda was intended to serve the cause of India's freedom. It was gratifying, he declared, that the German Reich had put its transmitters at his disposal. Mr. Bose went on to say, 'As is well known, the British Government has never permitted Mahatma Gandhi to talk over the Radio while it is using it as an instrument of lying propaganda against Mahatmaji and the Congress.' In connection with India's present situation, Mr. Bose pointed out that only in Britain was it unknown that the whole Indian population—one-fifth of the world's population—was completely unanimous in its claim for immediate freedom. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the most moderate of all Indian leaders, had lost faith in Britain after three years of waiting. As to relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, Mr. Bose declared the British seem to have forgotten the struggle for independence in 1857, which was a proof of the unanimity between the two communities. Britain had always pursued a policy of divide and rule. Britain, along with her Allies, were trying even today with all means in their power to keep India in slavery. The more grateful, therefore, had India to be for the helpful hand which the Axis Powers were extending to her. 'Today, there is only one alternative facing India—freedom or death. India had either to choose between perpetual slavery or a fight to the finish', he said. Continuing Mr. Bose recalled that 100,000 Indians had lost their lives for the preservation of the British Empire against their will

Therefore, he asked, whether India should not voluntarily sacrifice 100,000 people in order to destroy the British Empire and to gain freedom for India. He pointed out that it was now the time to act. Mr. Bose appealed to the Indian Police and the soldiers serving with the British Indian as well as to the Indian political leaders still in the Viceroy's Council to decide what to do. Concluding, Mr. Bose expressed his conviction that if the Indians all over the world did their utmost and fought with courage and determination and were prepared to lay down their lives if necessary, India's freedom would come sooner than expected,"

—*BERLIN RADIO*, October 15, 1942.

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" In a message to the Indian Independence League at Bangkok, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose stated, ' I am convinced that the war will be prolonged and that India will be free before the end of the present war. The Japanese war aim of the driving out of the Anglo-Americans from Asia will mean the liberation of India. When India is free, the freedom of the oppressed nations of India will follow."

—*AZAD HIND RADIO* (Singapore), June 16, 1943.

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"Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose has broadcast the following messages to Germany and Italy (from Tokyo). In his message to Germany he says : 'I am fully confident that the Tripartite Powers will be ultimately victorious. My frequent contacts with Hitler and other German statesmen have shown me that they heartily sympathise with the Indian cause and sincerely desire the liberation of India from the Anglo-American clutches.'

In his message to Italy he says: 'The present World War is between two ideals, one for the perpetuation of the old World Order based on injustice and oppression, and the other for the eradication of it and its replacement by a new and just world order. The Axis is fighting for the latter and hence it is the duty of the Indians to side with them and fight the Anglo-Americans'."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (In Tamil), June 23, 1943.

"The following is a recorded address of greetings to the Japanese people by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose: 'Forty years ago, when I was still attending a primary school, Japan scored a great victory over Russia, and from that time I began to know and respect Japan. Since I arrived in Japan I received great hospitality both from the Japanese Government and the people. I am not a king, nor am I a guest of the Court. My credentials are only that I am a man who came from a Buddhist country and who has been fighting for the independence of his country, India, for the past twenty years. Japan declared war against our enemy, Britain, and has inflicted crushing damage on her. This is a heaven-sent opportunity for the Indians to realise their ideals of 'India for the Indians'. If we miss this golden opportunity, it will never come our way again. We will fight and we know we will win'."

—*TOKYO RADIO* (In Japanese) June 28, 1943.

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"In the course of a recent statement, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said, Lord Wavell's appointment as Viceroy of India is Britain's last resort to maintain control over India. With Wavell as Governor General of India, Britain wants to increase their oppressive hold on India. I warn the British Government that such a measure will only add fuel to the already burning antagonistic feeling of the Indians towards the British Government. Mr. Bose pointed out that the Indian people could not take up arms with confidence and should an armed conflict break out, I am certain that his countrymen were quite prepared to take an active part in such an armed struggle. Referring to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Bose said that the Chungking leader was respected by the Indian people on the outbreak of the China affair, but his popularity soon waned when it was found that he was playing Britain's Imperialist game to the detriment of Asiatic nations. Regarding the Soviet Union, Mr. Bose declared that the Soviet Communists lost a great many followers in India, because on the outbreak of the present Soviet-German War, the Indian Communist Party decided to work in close concert with British oppressors of India."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, June 28, 1943.

During his first visit to the Indian Independence League Headquarters in Singapore on July 2, 1943, Netaji told one of the workers :

" Do you believe that I have brains enough not to be fooled by them ? Then trust my word when I assure you that I am sure Japs cannot double-cross us. They can only do that if we do not organise properly, if we fail in raising a proper army of Indians to fight for our freedom. We shall have to be awake and alive, on our guard—not only against the enemy British Imperialism, against the imperialistically inclined Japanese bureaucrats, but also against Indians in our own ranks. With discipline, we must be ready for every sacrifice. Let each man be ready to work. I bring you enough work. Work—work—and work—that is your and my burden. "

"We are not content with a 'Civil Disobedience Campaign. We must take up arms against British Imperialism when the time is ripe', declared Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at the Indian mass rally held in Shonan today. 'The Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving independence. All organisations, whether inside or outside India, must now transform themselves into disciplined fighting organisations under our leadership, with the aim and purpose of taking up arms against British Imperialism when the time is ripe'."

—*TOKYO RADIO* (In English) July 4, 1943.

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"In an address to the members of the Indian Independence League, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, the new President, said: 'Two conditions are essential for the speedy attainment of freedom, a favourable international situation, and a determination on our part not to rest till we reach our goal of complete freedom. I am convinced that the Tripartite Powers are on our side and will be successful in their fight against Britain. I am aware that all the Axis Powers, and specially Japan, sympathise fully with us, and are ready to do all in their power to help us. Therefore, I say that the international situation is in our favour and has given us an opportunity to strike at our enemy. I trust I need not remind you that India's liberation is bound up with an Axis Victory'."

—***FREE INDIA RADIO*** **(Saigon) (In Tamil). July, 4 1943.**

"The Headquarters of the India Independence League announced today that the representatives of the various branches of the League who met at Shonan today unanimously elected Sjt. Bose as President of the League.

"In an address to members of the League, Sjt. Subhas Bose, the new President, said 'Before carrying out my duties as President of the League, I take the pledge to serve my Motherland and help my brethren in India to attain freedom. I appeal to all Indians to follow my lead and take a vow to be loyal to the country's cause. Two conditions are essential for the speedy attainment of freedom: a favourable international situation, and a determination on our part not to rest till we reach our goal of complete freedom. I am convinced that Tripartite Powers are on our side and will be successful in their fight against Britain. I am aware that all the Axis Powers, and especially Japan, sympathise fully with us, and are ready to do all in their power to help us. Therefore, I say that the international situation is in our favour and has given us an opportunity to strike at our enemy.'

"We are not content with a civil disobedience campaign. We must take up arms against British Imperialism when the time is ripe', declared Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Continuing he said, 'The Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving independence. All organisations, whether inside or outside India, must now transform themselves to disciplined fighting organisations under our leadership, with the aim and purpose of taking up arms against British Imperialism when time is ripe. In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend to organise a Provisional Government to lead the Indian revolution to a successful conclusion. To this end, it will have to prepare the Indian people, inside and outside India for an armed struggle which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1857. When the revolution succeeds and Anglo-American Imperialism is expelled from India, the task of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then make room for a permanent government to be set up inside India in accordance with the will of the Indian people. When our preparation for this last struggle is complete, it will be possible to bring the Indian struggle in line with the common struggle of the Tripartite Powers against our common enemies. By participating in this common fight, we shall be qualifying ourselves for independence. Mr. Bose concluded with these words, 'India's liberty depends entirely on our own efforts and our willingness to sacrifice our all for that cause. I cannot say that so far our efforts, though courageous and determined, have been quite successful. Only a violent and armed struggle will bring us freedom. Hence, from today our struggle against Britain

will have to be an armed one. In order to mobilise our forces effectively I intend to organise a temporary National Government in India. This government will have full powers to prepare Indians in India as well as outside for an armed struggle, and it will be the duty of the government to carry on the struggle against Britain to a successful conclusion. When the revolution succeeds and we are free, a permanent National Government will be formed in accordance with the wishes of the people. I stress that only by forming a temporary Government shall we be able to complete our prepartions for the final struggle and join the Tripartite Powers in their fight against Britain. I trust I need not remind you that India's liberation is bound up with an Axis Victory."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, July 4, 1943.

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"Speaking at the inaugural session of the Indian Independence League Conference, held at Singapore on July 4, 1943, Netaji Bose said :

" Friends ! The time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a War crisis demands, above all, military discipline, as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so.

" I have publicly declared several times that when I left homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then, despite all the restrictions imposed by the C. I. D., I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home.

" Patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom fighters at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be for the freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interests of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.

" In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India....By winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice, we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time. I warn you that though we are

absolutely sure of our final victory, we can never afford to underestimate the enemy, and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is at once powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO, July 5, 1943.*

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"I approached Mr. Jinnah for a settlement in 1940 but I came away disappointed. The Muslim League is a pro-British body and is supported mainly by 'yes-men' and traitors. That is why the Viceroy frequently calls Mr. Jinnah and consults him on important matters. It is the British who are the creators of the Muslim League, which is supported by the millionaires and landlords. Had the Congress and the Muslim League come to an understanding in 1940 at the time of the collapse of France, and when British morale was at its lowest, India would have been free by now. But, Mr. Jinnah insisted on the materialisation of Pakistan, which is detrimental to the best interests of India, a demand which hampered our progress towards freedom. The British have long been carrying out a 'divide and rule' policy in India. To further weaken our solidarity the British have engineered the Muslim League demand of Pakistan, which aims at vivisecting India. I can confidently assert that the Hindu-Muslim question is a British creation. This is proved by the fact that though the Indian National Army is mainly composed of Muslim soldiers, there is perfect harmony between them and their Hindu comrades. Mr. Bose went on to say that the Provisional Government of Free India will shortly take shape and continue functioning until it attains its goal of driving out the British from India. When India is free this Government will be dissolved and a new one will then be constituted by the Indian people. I believe, went on Mr. Bose, that Mr. Jinnah is doing great harm to the National cause by advocating Pakistan. He is misleading the simple-minded Muslims by lending charm to Pakistan and playing upon their religious fanaticism. We all know that India will be plunged into a welter of chaos and confusion if the Pakistan scheme comes to fruition. The Muslims fail to realise that the British are the enemies of the Mus-

lims and Islam, and their policy has always been directed against them. It was the British who brought about the downfall of the Moghals and enslaved India. Will the British ever liberate India? We think not, they will perpetuate their hold on us and keep us in bondage. It seems to me that Mr. Jinnah is not at all interested in the freedom of India. Had he been sincere and honest towards the Muslims he would have been in jail with other Muslim leaders. Mr. Jinnah is doing nothing in this hour of India's peril, and he is satisfying his own vanity by delivering flowery speeches. Mr. Jinnah is always surrounded by Muslim landlords and capitalists who are loyal to the British. However, we resent their activities and condemn them for supporting the British. We are anxious to gain our independence. A Free Indian Army has been organised to deliver India from alien bondage and Indian soldiers will render a great service to Islam by uprooting British influence from their country."

—*BANGKOK RADIO*, July 18, 1943.

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" Speaking at a Military Review held in front of Singapore's Town Hall today, Netaji Bose addressed the members of the Indian National Army and said :

Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation :

Today is the proudest day of my life. Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is the Army that will emancipate India from British yoke. Every Indian must feel proud that this Indian Army has been organised entirely under Indian leadership, and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go into battle. Standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past.

"Comrades ! My soldiers ! Let your battle cry be : ' To Delhi, to Delhi.' How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the Victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Qilla of ancient Delhi.

"Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she lacks one thing; an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organise Indian National Army. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible Engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.

"Comrades ! You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, suffering, forced marches and death. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight ! "

—*SINGAPORE RADIO, July 5, 1943.*

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"Speaking at a mass rally today Netaji Bose said:

"I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland, on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British prison, when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the clutches of the British. Having been in prison eleven times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk that it involved.

"It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty. Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of prison—and in order to do so, I had to go on hunger strike, demanding my release. I know that neither in India nor in Ireland, had a prisoner succeeded in forcing the British Government to release him. I knew also that Terence Macswiney and Jatin Das had died in the attempt to force the Govern-

ment's hands. But I felt convinced that I had a historic task to fulfil. So I took the plunge, and after seven days of hunger strike, the Government unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free, with the intention of taking me back to prison again after a month or two. But before they could seize me again, I became a free man.

"Friends! You know that I have been actively working in the Independence movement ever since I left the University in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaign during the last two decades. In addition to this I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements—whether non-violent or violent. In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India would not suffice to expel the British from the country.

"To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside which the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a two-fold one, moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside.

"The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty. According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will do their duty, it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of their countrymen. Friends, let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be: 'Total Mobilization for a Total War.' Out of this total mobilization, I expect at least three lakhs soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying Regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857.

"Our countrymen at home are now hard pressed and they are demanding a Second Front. Give me total mobilization in East Africa and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle.' "

—*SINGAPORE RADIO,* July 9, 1943.

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"Addressing a mass meeting of Indian women convened by the Women's Section of the Indian Independence League held in Singapore on July 12, 1943, Netaji Bose said:—

"Sisters!

"You all know, as well as I do, the part our countrymen at home have played in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last twenty-two years, since the year 1921, when the Congress was reborn under the leadershp of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress movement of Civil Disobedience, but also in connection with the secret revolutionary movement, that our sisters have played a noble part. In fact, it will be no exaggeration to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared, along with our men, the burden of our national struggle. Whether it is touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is carrying the Freedom-message from door to door, whether it is running election campaigns or whether it is leading processions along public streets in defiance of official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British Police, or whether it is facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, insult and humiliation, nowhere have our women been found wanting. Our brave sisters have also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. They have shown that when the need arises they could, like their brothers, shoot very well. If today I express my fullest confidence in you, it is because I know that our women are capable of, and therefore, I say without the slightest exaggeration there is no suffering which our sisters are not capable of enduring.

"History teaches us that every empire has its fall just as it has its rise. And the time has come for the British Empire to disappear from the face of the world. "We see with our own eyes how that empire has disappeared from this part of the world. It shall, I feel absolutely certain,

disappear from another part of the world, from India as well.

"If there is anyone either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unworthy act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask her to turn to the pages of history. What have our brave women done in the past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India's First War of Independence? It was this queen who, with drawn sword on horse-back, led her men to battle. Through our ill-luck she fell, she failed, and India failed. But, we have to continue and complete the work which the great Rani undertook in 1857.

"Therefore, in the last and final War of Independence we want not one Rani of Jhansi, but thousands and thousands of Ranis of Jhansi. It is not the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO, July 13, 1943.*

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"Speaking at a mass meeting in Singapore today, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose declared :

"A year has rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison for the crime of demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. Since then the civil disobedience movement as well as sabotage activities have gone on with unabated vigour. But we have not won freedom. And we shall not win freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British Indian Army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India.

"It it today a very great pleasure for me to see so many of my Muslim countrymen in this gathering of ours. I thank them heartily for the welcome they have given me and for the handsome purse they have offered for the Indian Independence Movement. Let the whole world know, and let our enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and that they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO, August 15, 1941.*

"While assuming direct command of the *Azad Hind Fauj* today, Netaji issued an Order of the Day in which he said:

"In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, I have taken over the direct command of our Army from this day. This is for me a matter of joy and pride for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation. I regard myself as the servant of 38 crores of my countrymen. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crores may be safe and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that Indian's Army of Liberation can be built up.

"In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, the *Azad Hind Fauj* has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal -Freedom of India and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, *the Azad Hind Fauj* has to be like a wall of granite: when we march, it has to be like a steam-roller.

"Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the invincibilty of our cause. Thirty-eight crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free, and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

"Comrades, our work has already begun. With the slogan 'Onward to Delhi' on our lips, let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the *Azad Hind Fauj* holds its Victory Parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's Metropolis."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, August 25, 1943.

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"Mr. S. C. Bose. speaking of the offer of 100,000 tons of rice made by him a few days ago said, that if the Government of India wanted to accept the offer it should be replied at once. But, though it was now more than a week since he had made the offer, the Government of India had not yet given any reply. 'News of the League's offer', he said, 'had spread all over India and Indians were convinced that the Government of

India did not want to accept it.' He pointed out that the Government of India was tardy about accepting the offer because if it did so it would be a tacit admission of its inability to cope with the situation, and also because it would betray the seriousness of the food situation in India which the British had been at so great pains to hide from the world. 'British propagandists', Mr. Bose stated, 'have been, for some time past, denying that there was a serious famine in India, and if the British Government accepts the offer of the Indian Independence League now, it will be a direct contradiction of the reports they have been spreading so far.' In view of this, Mr. Bose felt that it would be futile to hope that the Government of India will accept the offer."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 30, 1943.

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"In the course of a statement Mr. S. C. Bose said that he had recently announced that he had arranged to send 100,000 tons of rice for the relief of the starving population of India. "It is now up to the British authorities to prove their sympathy for the Indians by accepting the offer,' Mr. Bose added. He went on to say, 'it needs hardly be pointed out that the British Government itself is not in a position to provide adequate supplies of food to the Indians. The Conferences which were held to discuss the problem of food shortage has produced nothing except bulky reports. All that the Government is capable of doing in this crisis is to make empty promises and issue lengthy statements professing sympathy for the people. The real reason why the Indians are starving although India produces enough grain to feed her people, is plain enough. The British have shipped the entire output of grain from India for the use of their troops abroad. In Burma there are large stocks of rice which used to be exported to India before the present war in East Asia. I have, however, undertaken to send supplies of rice to India which will greatly help relieve the distress of the people. But the question is, will the British let these supplies reach India or will they continue to force the people to die of starvation ? The Japanese Government has given me an assurance that ships carrying the grain to India will be protected in every way. If the callous British authorities in India want to starve our countrymen before quitting the country they will not accept the offer, but in that event the groans of the hungry millions of Indian men, women and children will be heard by the Almighty; and feel certain that the day will not be far distant when full retribution will descend on the British."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 31, 1943.

"On July 27, the fiery President of the Indian Independence League, Mr. S.C. Bose, delivered a stirring address at a welcome mass meeting of the Indian residents in Bangkok. After thanking Thailand for the warm sympathy extended to the struggle for India's freedom, Mr. Bose declared that he was convinced that the great leaders of the Axis Powers were all with the Indians. President Bose reviewed India's struggle for emancipation in the past, when the Indians had to fight without arms, and when they were groping about in the dark. But today, Mr. Bose declared, the masses in India, whether rich or poor, literate or illiterate, were animated by a burning desire for freedom. He declared, 'Today all preparations for the final struggle have been made. The situation in India does not allow the Indians to organise an army. The only thing to do so is to organise it from outside. In order to achieve this, it is the duty of all Indians in East Asia to go forward and to organise such an army. With profound gratitude, Mr. Bose reported that this work was progressing satisfactorily and the Indian National Army which had been brought into existence was working at a high level of efficiency. The recent presence of Prime Minister Tojo in the midst of the Indian National Army has been a source of profound encouragement to us. What is more, the symbolic help he has given has strengthend our determination to achieve success.'

"Mr. Bose further stated that he was convinced that the Indians would be able to organise a force so powerful as to overthrow Britain's power in India. To do that, the Indians must bring about a total mobilization of their manpower and resources in East Asia. Therefore, all able-bodied men, regardless of their age, must come forth and fight. Not only men but also women must join the struggle. The old and physically disabled should give all. The time for small contributions is over. He declared that time to fight for a free India has arrived and it is, therefore, necessary to commandeer our entire resources. Mr. Bose assured that Indians in India, despite their obvious handicaps, would participate in the last phase of the struggle, and were anxiously awaiting for the Indian National Army to appear on India's frontier. When this Army appeared on the frontier, then real revolution for the overthrow of the British rule in India, once and for all, will have begun. All soldiers who took part in the parade in Shonan in honour of the Japanese Premier know, Mr. Bose added, that it was just the beginning of their task, and it would only be completed when a similar parade was held before the Red Fort in Delhi. Mr. Bose concluded his address as follows : 'We feel proud to be living in an epoch

which will become a historic one. We are grateful to Providence that an opportunity has been given to us to save our country, and to fight for freedom. We shall freely give our blood for India's freedom, and to preserve that freedom, for all time."

BANGKOK RADIO, July 28, 1943

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"Addressing a gathering of 2,000 Indians at Bangkok, Sjt. Subhas Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League, said, 'I have the greatest respect and admiration for the Satyagraha movement carried on by Mahatma Gandhi, but I feel that the Indians can attain freedom only by violence. A compromise with Britain will serve no useful purpose. On the contrary, it will only strengthen the hold that the British have on India and perpetuate her slavery. They (the Indians) must realise that violence must be met with violence and only an efficient and well-disciplined army will succeed in driving the British out and liberating the country."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), (In Tamil), July 30, 1943.

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"Addressing a gathering of 2,000 Indians at Bangkok, Sjt. Subhas Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League, said, 'I have the greatest respect and admiration for the Satyagraha movement carried on by Mahatma Gandhi, but feel that the Indians can attain freedom only by violence. A compromise with Britain will serve no useful purpose. On the contrary, it will only strengthen the hold that the British have on India and perpetuate her slavery. If we analyse the international situation, we will see that the recent successes of Japan have provided the Indians with an opportunity to strike at Britain. The Indians have to learn a lesson from the other nations of the world. They must realise that violence must be met with violence and that only an efficient and well-disciplined army will succeed in driving the British out and liberating the country. But unfortunately, our brethren in India are not in a position to form such an army themselves, and it is the duty of Indians in East Asia to help them. The

success of the Indian National Army depends on the sincerity of every Indian, man or woman, who is a member. I am certain that when the army stands at India's doors, the Indian sepoys and officers of the British Indian Army will join it and fight against the British. In addition, unrest in the country will increase and there is no doubt that the Indian National Army, helped by the agitation in India, will carry all before it.' In conclusion, he added, 'I am grateful to merciful Providence which has given us an opportunity to save our country from the British. I am sure that every Indian will give his blood to free his country and to protect her freedom for all time.'

Netaji stated that the services of every Indian were needed to bring the struggle for freedom to a successful conclusion. He added, 'I am confident that an army can be formed of Indians in East Asia which will create a Second Front against the British which is being demanded by Indian Nationalists. The first front against the British is in India itself, where our brethren are carrying on *Satyagraha* to attain freedom. Our brethren in India want an army to bring this struggle to an end. It is impossible to form such an army inside India itself. It is, therefore, the duty of Indians overseas to form the army and help their brethren in India from outside. Like the peoples of other nations engaged in the war, we also must make sacrifices for the liberation of our Motherlannd'. In conclusion, he stated that India will be free before the end of the present world war."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon) July 31, 1943.

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"In an address to his countrymen, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League, said, 'At this time when India is fighting for freedom from British rule, she needs the services of every able-bodied Indian man and woman. I am confident that the Indians in East Asia will help their brethren in India in every way. Our brethren in India have no weapon to fight the British; nor do they have an efficient and disciplined army to fight for them. It is our duty to remedy these shortcomings.

We must also keep in mind that though the Indian National Army is well equipped and trained, we have to strengthen it further if we are to be sure of success. I appeal to all of

you who can to join the Indian National Army. Those of you who are unfit for active service on the front can also help by contributing towards the cost of maintaining the army in fighting trim.' "

—*BANGKOK RADIO*, July 31, 1943.

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"On August 5, Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Provisional Government of Free India, addressed a mass meeting of Indians for two hours in Bangkok, and spoke on the attainment of independence by Burma and the Indian freedom movement. He said : 'Brothers and sisters ! I give you joyous tidings today, even though you have already heard it. I refer to the independence of Burma. This is a very important event for the whole of East Asia, and we all regard it as such. The freedom of Burma foretells of the freedom of East Asia, and will greatly advance the freedom movement in East Asia.' Mr. Bose further declared that the impetus given by Burmese freedom to the Indian National movement would greatly advance India on her road to freedom. Speaking of the Indian National movement, Mr. Bose said, 'Liberty is a thing which has to be won through one's own efforts at the cost of great hardships and sacrifices. The kind of liberty which is purchased with the help of other powers is never lasting. Today, we have an Indian National Army of Liberation. This is our only help and hope ; and as long as Mother India is enslaved it must be our only rallying point. 'I confidently hope that the time is fast approaching when the Indian National Army will reach the gates of India and march swiftly towards Delhi. The soldiers of the Indian National Army who staged a march-past in honour of General Tojo at Shonan, knew that it was only the beginning of the national struggle. They will now march in front of the Red Fort in Delhi.'

"Mr. Bose said that recent events in Asia and Europe should serve as an eye-opener to those wishful thinking Indians who do not believe in the inevitable decline and disruption of the British Empire. He pointed out that such optimistic Indians should visit those countries which were once under British domination and have now been liberated. Then they would realise that the days of the British Empire are numbered. Continuing his speech, Mr. S. C. Bose laid particular stress on the importance of the Indian struggle for independence. Paying a tribute to the steadfastness of the Indian nationalists,

he pointed out that they had courageously carried on the struggle against the British aggressors for a long time. He said that the British had always resorted to repressive measures in order to crush the National movement. The Indian patriots were mercilessly machine-gunned and clapped into jail. But the situation, he added, had completely changed. He declared, 'The Indian National Army is now ready to fight against the British. The Indians are not alone. They will be helped from outside in every possible way. A great revolution will take place in India and the entire Indian nation will rise in open rebellion against the British. If we do not take advantage of the present opportunity, we are bound to be shackled in perpetual slavery. Now or never.' "

—*BANGKOK RADIO*, August 6, 1943.

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"In the course of a speech Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose expressed his confidence that Mahatma Gandhi and a great number of his followers would extend their wholehearted moral, if not complete physical, support once the Indian National Army had successfully penetrated into India along with the proposed Provisional Government of Free India. The fiery Indian leader declared that although Mahatma Gandhi might not support fighting with arms, because of the latter's steadfast adherence to the principle of non-violence, it was certain that he would not oppose the Indian National Army or the Provisional Government. Mr. Bose stressed, however, that once the proposed Provisional Government had successfully penetrated into India there was every possibility that Mahatma Gandhi would lend his full support. Mr. Bose declared that among Mahatma Gandhi's followers most of them would support the Indian National Army, though he did not expect that the older men would. He pointed out that the younger men of Mahatma Gandhi's group were gradually coming over to the side of those who believed in an armed struggle for the liberation of India.' Mr. Bose declared, 'Burma's independence is a bombshell to the enemy, and it will undoubtedly have far-reaching effects on the Indian people in their fight for freedom.' He stated that Burma's independence has a vital bearing on India's independence movement, because Burma was once part of India and had the same status as the mother country until she had been annexed by

Britain. Mr. Bose stated, 'There is not the least doubt that Burma's complete liberation from the British is a further stimulus to the Indian people in their struggle for freedom. The Indian masses are convinced that the new Burmese State will extend every possible aid to them so that the Indian National Army can do everything within its power to deal a knock-out blow to the British forces.' Mr. Bose further declared that he received the impression during his recent stay in Burma, and his conviction further deepened when he had the honour of attending the State Assembly that the Burmese people and Government will help India to the utmost. The Indian leader added that he found Dr. Ba Maw a competent leader who could lead the country in surmounting the innumerable difficulties that lay ahead until final victory had been won.' "

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 8, 1943.

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"Mr. S. C. Bose, in the course of a speech at Shonan on August 15 said, that Indians in East Asia had helped Burma attain her freedom but were now preparing to liberate their Motherland. He said that the Indian National Army was getting ready to march to New Delhi and there hoist the tricolour on the Red Fort. Indians in East Asia are prepared to sacrifice everything for the aske of their country, he added. He went on to say that by attacking the British both from outside India and from within simultaneously, it would be easy to crush them. He said Indians abroad are as determined as Indians at home to drive out the British from India and to liberate their Motherland. Mr. Bose declared, 'The time has come when both sections should co-ordinate their efforts ; and simultaneously with the invasion of India by the Indian National Army. Nationalist activities inside the country should be intensified, along with increased sabotage and a violent anti-British propaganda among Indian sepoys so that they may desert at the crucial moment. Both these functions will facilitate and hasten the end of British rule.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 16, 1943.

"In the course of a broadcast, Netaji Subhas Bose said, 'There is a serious famine prevailing in India, particularly in Bengal and Calcutta. On receipt of these reports from India, the Indian League of Independence in East Asia is extremely anxious about the welfare of the Indian people and is, therefore, trying to do everything in its power to take the necessary measures in order to help them. Today, I am in the happy position to announce that 100,000 tons of rice are waiting to be transported from Burma to relieve hunger in India. This rice is put at the disposal of the Indian people unconditionally. These 100,000 tons of rice are at present lying in a harbour in the vicinity of India. At the moment when the British Government expresses its willingness to accept this delivery, the name of the harbour as well as of the authorities who will hand over the rice, will be named. At the same time the Japanese Government will be asked for a guarantee of a safe conduct for the ships calling for this quantity of rice.' Mr. Bose further declared that if this first delivery is accepted by the British Government further deliveries for the starving Indian population could be sent to India. Mr. Bose expressed the earnest hope that this offer would be accepted, because hundreds of thousands of men, women and children would be saved from starvation."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 20, 1943.

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"Speaking at Shonan on August 24, 1943, Mr. S. C. Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League, said that the Indian Indendence League was anxious about the food situation in India and was ready to help relieve the sufferings of the Indians. He added, 'All preparations are complete. I am prepared to send 100,000 tons of rice to India if the British Government accepts my offer. The rice is waiting ready to be shipped to India at a port very near Indian shores. If the British make known their decision through the A. I. R. or by any other means, this amount will be shipped at once. I shall disclose the name of the port as soon as the British accept my offer. I can also guarantee that the ships carrying the foodstuffs to India will not in any way be molested by Japanese naval or air units. After this consignment reaches India, the League is prepared to send more if necessary'."

AZAD HIND RADIO (Germany) (In Tamil), August 25, 1943.

"In the course of a broadcast from Shonan, Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Indian League of Independence in East Asia, and C.-in-C. of the I. N. A. made the following declaration yesterday: 'I am in a happy position to announce the following: 100,000 tons of rice are waiting to be transported to relieve hunger in India. This rice is put at the disposal of the Indian people unconditionally. These 100,000 tons of rice are at present lying in a harbour in the vicinity of India. At the moment when the British Government expresses its willingness to accept this delivery, the name of the harbour as well as of the authorities which will hand over the rice will be named. The Japanese Government will be asked for the guarantee of a safe transport for the ships calling for this quantity of rice'."

—*BERLIN RADIO* (In English) August 26, 1943.

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"On the occasion of the 75th birthday of Gandhiji Mr. S. C. Bose expressed his joy and prayed for the health and long life of the Mahatma, says a representative of the Domei Agency who had an interview with the Commander of the India National Army. Mr. Bose was confident of receiving encouragement from the Mahatma on the Army's determination to free India from the British. Mr. Bose said that he believed that 'non-violence' was an effective weapon against the tyrant and those who have thoroughly studied the Mahatma's ideology will never doubt that it stands for an honourable and just aim. He recalled his last meeting with Gandhiji when the creed of non-violence was discussed before many national leaders. The Mahatma did not agree with Mr. Bose when he declared non-violence ineffective and laughed off his remark that he would like to follow violent means to achieve freedom saying that he would congratulate him (Bose) with all his heart if he were successful."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon) (In Hindustani) Oct. 25, '43.

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"After completing his review of the I.N.A., Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose made a speech in the course of which he declared. 'Ever since my interest in Indian politics I have realised that the whole of India is ready to fight for her freedom, but lacks a free Indian Army for the purpose. Today you should feel proud and encouraged that you form part of the I.N.A.' "

—*ROME RADIO* (*IN HINDUSTANI*) July 9, 1943.

"Addressing a large gathering of his countrymen in Penang, Sjt. S. C. Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League, stated that he had visited all the National Army Military Training Centre in Malaya and was impressed by their efficiency. He added, 'The buildings that are at present used as a training centre were formerly British barracks. I am sure the day is not far off when those in India also will be used for the same purpose. In India thousands of our brethren are at present languishing in jail but as soon as we enter India, we shall free them and imprison the British themselves in those prisons.' He also pointed out the necessity for the formation of a Provisional Indian National Government to take charge of the interim administration of the country as soon as it was occupied by the Indian National Army. Commenting on the European situation, Mr. S. C. Bose said that though the Allies were making a great fuss about their victories in Sicily in order to impress India, the European situation did not vitally concern India. Continuing Mr. Bose added that he was confident that Japan would whole-heartedly help the Indians in their struggle for freedom. But, even though she was prepared to do so, the Indians should strive to attain freedom by their own efforts. He, therefore, appealed to every Indian to make sacrifice in the cause of the freedom of India. He said during his visit to various Training Centres for Indian soldiers in East Asia, he had seen thousands of youngmen who were anxious to go into battle against their British oppressors and were enthusiastically preparing for the final battle. He added that the day was not far off when they would march on Delhi. 'Unarmed and helpless' went on Mr. Bose, are groaning under the British yoke and suffering at the hands of the Anglo-American tyrants, and it is the primary duty of the Indians in East Asia to accomplish the task of liberating their country and their fellow-countrymen from British bondage. Japan will give us every possible aid in our war of independence against the Allies, but we have to bear primary responsibility in this task of freeing our country from British domination. In conclusion Mr. Bose declared that the Indian National Army will not rest till the last Englishman had either been kicked out of India or killed."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*. September 6, 1943.

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"Addressing a huge gathering of Indians at Kuala Lumpur, Mr. S. C. Bose, President of the Indian Independence League and Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army, stated that the Indians would soon shatter British Imperialism. He added that very soon the Indian National Army will march

towards India. Amid cheers and applause, Mr. S. C. Bose said that the Indian National Army would shortly attack the British in India. Mr. Bose went to say, 'Our Indian brethren know our intentions, and they will, I feel certain, welcome and co-operate with the Indian National Army when it invades India. Very soon instead of the Union Jack, the Indian National Army's own flag will fly on Indo-Burmese border. Our duty is to intensify our efforts so that the Indian National Army may be able to rescue our brethren as soon as possible.' He added that in order to achieve complete freedom for India, a National Army was essential and it had been organized and equipped with modern weapons with the help of Japan and now everything depended on the efforts of Indians.

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, September 8, 1943.

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Speaking on the occ sion of the 75th birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandh on October 2, 1934, Netaji said:

The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time to come.

When the last World War was over and Indian leaders began to demand freedom that had been promised to them, they discovered for the first time that they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they still possessed. And when they protested against that Black Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre followed. After the tragic events of 1919, Indians were stunned and paralysed for the time being. All attempts to achieve liberty had been ruthlessly suppressed by the British. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution, all alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left, and the Indian people were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment, Gandhiji appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-Co-operation or *Satyagraha* or Civil Disobedience. It appears as if he had been sent by Providence to show us the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied under his banner. India had found a new Messiah. Every Indian's face was lit with a new light and a new hope and a renewed confidence. Victory did not seem as impossible as it had appeared before.

For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him the Indian people have worked. It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have still been prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in a lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal, who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War, and who was then acclaimed by the Turks as 'Ghazi.'

Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi, which are the indisputable preconditions of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence as a result of which, revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a country-wide organisation which extends even to the remotest hamlet of India. Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and the other leaders are now rotting behind prison bars. The task that Mahatma Gandhi began has to be completed by his countrymen at home and abroad.

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his Non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur in December 1920, he said, 'If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword.' And proceeding further Mahatmaji said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or *Satyagraha*. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of Liberation has already come into existence, and is steadily increasing in numbers."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, October 3, 1943.

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The following statement was issued by Netaji Bose on October 21, 1943 :

"As a student of history and in particular of revolutions in different parts of the world during 22 years of public life, I always felt that what India was lacking two things in her fight for freedom—a National Army and a National Government to lead that army to battle. In the course

of the present war, thanks to the brilliant victories achieved by the armed forces of Nippon, it became possible for Indians in East Asia to organise the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army.

The creation of a National Army gave reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible, as well as necessary to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last world war, and, after the last world war, the Turks under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia. In our case, the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind will not be like a normal peacetime Government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organisation, the main object of which will be to launch and conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India. Consequently, only such departments will be run by the Government as will be necessary for the launching and the prosecution of the struggle for liberty.

The Cabinet will consist of a certain number who will represent the civil departments of the Government—while there will be others representing the Armed Forces of the Government. Since the purpose of the Government is to fight for Independence, the armed forces have been given a large representation on the Cabinet. Besides the ordinary Ministers of the Cabinet, provision has been made for a number of Advisers to the Cabinet. In this manner, the Provisional Government will maintain close and organic connection with the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilize all their resources for the coming struggle. When the Provisional Government is transferred to Indian soil it will assume the functions of a normal Government operating in its own territory. Many new departments will then be started. With the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian Independence Movement has obtained all the preconditions of success. It remains now to start the final struggle for freedom.

This will begin when the Indian National Army crosses the frontier of India and commences its historic march to Delhi. This march will end only when the Anglo-Americans are expelled from India and the Indian National Flag is hoisted over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

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"Speaking at the ceremony held today to inaugurate the Provisional Government of free India, Netaji Bose, who was elected the Head of the State, said :

"During the last few months, the situation inside India has been developing in a manner favourable in our cause, although it has meant more and more suffering for the people.

"The political unrest in India has been greatly accentuated by the famine conditions prevailing in several parts of India—and particularly in Bengal. There can be no doubt that these famine conditions have been largely due to the policy of ruthless exploitation of India's food and other resources for Britain's war purposes over a period of nearly four years. You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India—but we were given only abuse in return.

"You are probably aware that since July last, I have toured more than once in the mainland of Malaya, in Thailand, in Burma and in Indo-China. The enthusiasm among our countrymen that I have met with everywhere has not only been encouraging, but has added greatly to my feelings of confidence and optimism.

"I would like to inform you also that we have been planning and preparing not only for the coming struggle, but also for post-war reconstruction. We can visualise the conditions that we shall find at home when the Anglo-Americans and their allies are expelled from our Country. We have, therefore, set up a Reconstruction Department in our headquarters, where the problems of post-war reconstruction are being studied. People are now being trained for rapid work reconstruction within India, simultaneously with the progress of military operations. In short, we are not leaving anything undone in our

preparation for the coming fight for freedom and for the task that we shall have to undertake thereafter.

"It would naturally have been the best thing if a Government had been constituted inside India, and if that Government had launched the last struggle for liberty. But things being what they are in India, and all the known and recognised leaders being in prison, it is hopeless to expect the formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organised or initiated within the Country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

"There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that when we cross the Indian frontier with our Army and hoist our National Flag on Indian soil, the real revolution will break out within the country—the revolution that will ultimately bring about the end of British rule in India.

"The creation of a National Army has lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible as well as necessary, to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

"In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times, the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1926. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. The Turks, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, October 21, 1943.

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"When the sun of their (Indian) freedom is about to rise, Indians should establish a Provisional Government. It is their duty to conduct their war of independence under the direction and supervision of this Government. Disarmament and the imprisonment of all Indian leaders have made it difficult to launch the armed struggle at

home. The Provisional Government of India must perform this task, and Indians at home and abroad will give it their co-operation. At the conclusion of the war, the Provisional Government will establish a permanent government based on the will and choice of the Indian people. The Provisional Government will carry on the administration until the British are eradicated and the new Government is formed."

—*INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE RADIO* (Singapore), (In Hindustani) October 21, 1943.

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Opening the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp at Singapore on October 22, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander of the *Azad Hind Fauj*, said:

"Sisters"!

"The opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important landmark in the progress of our movement in East Asia.

"We are engaged in the great task of regenerating our nation. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our womenfolk.

"Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jahan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood.

"I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only twenty. You can easily imagine what it meant for a girl of twenty to ride a horse, and wield her sword in open battle. You can easily realize what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that 'she was the best and bravest of the rebels.' First she fought from the Jhansi Fort, and when the fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up a fight. When she had to retreat from this battlefront, she made

an alliance with Tantia Topi, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort, and using that Fort as the base she continued the battle, and in this last and great battle she died fighting.

"Unfortunately, the Jhansi Rani was defeated. It was not her defeat; it was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.' "

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, October 23, 1943.

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"It is a God-sent opportunity that war has broken out in East Asia, which gives us a chance to fight our way to freedom on our own soil. It is also through His Grace that a large number of Indian troops were left by the retreating British from the East Asia countries. If they had been few or none at all our efforts could never have been so successful. I had long been convinced that the sorest need of our country was for an armed force of our own. Now the deficiency has been made up by this Army in East Asia."

—*INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE RADIO* (Singapore)
October 24, 1943.

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"Speaking over the Tokyo Radio, Mr. S. C. Bose, the Supreme Commander of the Free Indian Army, said: 'For the first time since 1857, Indians abroad have organised a National Government which has been recognised by some of the most powerful nations of the world. Indians in various parts of the world have rallied under the flag of their National Government and have expressed their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with their brethren at home against their enemies. We are grateful to the British for causing a national awakening amongst us by starving thousands of our countrymen, and strengthening our determination to wage the war of independence to a successful conclusion. We have realized five of the six important objectives necessary for the salvation of our Motherland. First, thorough knowlege of the war situation; secondly, sympathy of Britain's enemies: thirdly,

direct relations between our agents at home and abroad; fourthly, synchronizing the Indian war of independence with the present world war; and fifthly, the organization of the Provisional Government of India. The last objective, which still remains to be achieved, is the delivering of the fatal blow to the enemy in co-operation with 'our Allies'. Mr. S. C. Bose declared, 'Upon the outbreak of the war, India was ready to attain her political freedom but she lacked two essentials; first a national Army, and, secondly, outside aid. Today, we have got both. I have always been stressing the significance of the chance which the war situation has offered us, and have been urging Indians to rise to the occasion. I urge upon all my countrymen not to let this chance go.' "

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 8, 1943.

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"China and India should join hands in order to defeat Britain and the United States and to attain complete 'Greater East Asiatic freedom', declared Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at a welcome rally in Nanking. Mr. Bose called on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and other Chungking leaders to forsake Anglo-American influence and to do their utmost for Chinese unification, India's independence and Greater East Asia's complete emancipation. He emphasised the need of unity and co-operation between India and China for the extermination of the Anglo-Americans, and asked Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and other Chungking leaders to give up Anglo-American friendship and co-operate wholeheartedly with the other East Asiatic nations in order to liberate Asia from Anglo-American bondage. He said it was a pity that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, during their visit to India appealed to Indians to help the British in the present war, and pointed out that Chiang would never have exhorted Indians to co-operate with their alien masters and he honestly aspired for the freedom of China and really believed in freedom and democracy. Mr. Bose reminded Marshal Chiang Kai-shek that during his presidentship of the Indian National Congress in 1939, he (Mr. Bose) had sent a Medical Mission to China out of sympathy and sincerity towards her, and asked him to help India in her war of independence if he was really honest and truthful. The Indian leader begged the Generalissimo to help the Indians against the British in their struggle for freedom. Concluding his statement, Mr. Bose pointed out that he wished to pay a visit to China in 1939, but the British Government refused to give him a passport. He added, 'Now I need no British passport'."

—*BATAVIA RADIO*, November 12, 1943.

"In the course of a statement, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said, 'I have a new message to give you. After my arrival in Tokyo, I and my colleagues of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind were invited to attend the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held on November 5 and 6 as observers. In this Assembly the representatives of the Independent Governments of Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, China, Manchukuo and Japan participated. You must have heard by now of the joint declaration passed unanimously and enthusiastically by the representatives of the participating nations. The joint declaration pointed out that it is the basic principle for the establishment of a world peace that the nations of the world have each their own place, and enjoy prosperity in common and mutual co-operation. The United States of America and the British Empire have, in seeking their own prosperity, oppressed and exploited other nations. It is especially in East Asia that they indulged in an orgy of aggression and exploitation in order to satisfy their inordinate ambition and insatiable greed. And finally, they have constantly been a menace to the stability and peace of East Asia. Herein lies the cause of the present war. Japan has entered the war of Greater East Asia with a view to establishing permanent peace in the world and in order to liberate the oppressed and exploited countries of East Asia from the yoke of British American domination. In the struggle Japan is being supported wholeheartedly by all East Asiatic nations, because in a Japanese victory alone lies the hope of all Asia. For ensuring their self-existence the following principles have been adopted :—

"(i) The countries of Greater East Asia, through mutual co-operation will ensure the stability of their regions and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being based on justice.

"(ii) The countries of Greater East Asia will ensure equality of nations in their region by respecting one another's sovereignty and dependence and practising mutual assistance and amity.

"(iii) The countries of Greater East Asia, by respecting one another's traditions and developing the creative faculties of each State to enhance the culture of the peoples of Greater East Asia.

"(iv) The countries of Greater East Asia will endeavour to accelerate their economic development through close co-operation on the basis of mutual necessity and promote thereby the general prosperity of their region.

"(v) The countries of Greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and

work for the establishment, abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening up of the resources to the outer world, and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind.

It is the first time in modern history that emancipated nations of East Asia have come together in close co-operation for setting up a New Order. Attempts at setting up a new international order have, as you know, been made before but all these attempts failed. They failed because of the selfishness, greed and avarice of the leading powers, those powers that were expected to set an example to the whole world. The last such experiment was the League of Nations. The League of Nations was said to be an organisation which would establish peace and security throughout the world, but England and France utilised and exploited that organization for advancing their own interests with the result that it became an instrument of international exploitation, dominated and controlled by Britain and France. International order in East Asia or the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere has been, on the contrary, set upon the basis of the principles of justice, popular sovereignty, reciprocity and mutual assistance. I cannot conceive of a more just and moral basis for investing an international order. I am, therefore, confident that where the rest of the world has failed, the East will succeed. It has often happened in history that light comes from the East. In the domain of international relations, too, light once again comes from the East. That is why history has ordained that the endeavour to establish a new order in the world should now begin in the East, and that the foundation-stone be now begun in the East, and that the foundation-stone be laid in the land of the Rising Sun. The Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations is a new and noble experiment in this direction. Upon its success depends not only the future of East Asia, but of the whole of Asia, and ultimately, of the whole world as well."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 16, 1943.

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In the course of a recent speech, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose declared that the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations had succeeded in laying the foundation of a New Order in the East. What was of more interest and importance, Mr. Bose said, was the fact that all the nations who banded together were determinned to fight in order to preserve

this new order. The Assembly, therefore, exhibited one will, and one determination. Mr. Bose went on to say, 'The so-called Liberal and Democratic powers have often said that a New Order can only be set up when the war is over and peace is established. Here in East Asia one has seen a world war. Where there is a will, there's a way. Straightforwardness and sincerity can overcome mountains. We find no obstacles to prevent the creation of a New Order in the East. The Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations also unanimously passed a resolution moved by the Head of the Burma Government, Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw, undertaking to give full moral and material support to India's struggle for independence. In reply to the resolution, which was enthusiastically supported by all those countries that were represented in the Assembly, I took the liberty of pointing out that the New Order in East Asia which was being established was a real society of nations and not a league of robbers as we saw at Geneva. The entire interest of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations, centred in the policy followed by Japan which had shown its sincerity by having granted independence to Burma and the Philippines, having recognized the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or Free India, and having recently entered into an agreement with the National Government of China. Japan has given full and generous proof of her *bona fides* and of her sincere desire to assist the down-trodden countries of Asia to attain their freedom and to create a free and prosperous East Asia built on the principles of justice, national sovereignty, and mutual assistance. Such sincere and noble evidence was very necessary to build a New Order in East Asia and is of vital interest and importance, not merely to East Asia but to the whole of Asia and the world to-day.'

"Continuing, Mr. Bose said, 'Though India did not officially participate in the Assembly of Greater East Asia, though I attended it only as an observer, and though the Indian question did not form an item in the official agenda, the Indian question, by virtue of its great importance to the future of East Asia and the Co-prosperity Sphere was discussed at great length. Perhaps the most agreeable surprise was the announcement in the Assembly by the Prime Minister of Japan that his Government had decided to hand over to the Provisional Government of Free India, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal which had been in the custody of the Japanese Government since the British had been kicked out from there. The problem now for us Indians, and for all the oppressed peoples of Asia, is to go forward for the realization of our dream. We are all determined to play our full part in this gigantic struggle, and we are confident of final victory.'

"Mr. Bose declared that the whole of East Asiatic Indian population of nearly 3,000,000 now stood as one solid phalanx behind India's struggle for independence and that their political organization, the Indian Independence League, had accepted a programme of total mobilization, and had called upon Indians in East Asia to come forward in large numbers to join the struggle. He said that the response of the Indian community to this call for total mobilization had been good and it had made it possible for the Indian Independence League to form the *Azad Hind Fauj* or Indian National Army whose slogan was 'Onward to Delhi'. Mr. Bose went on to say, 'Since the 21st of October we have our own Government —the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This Government has the confidence of the entire Indian people, who will do everything to help. It has, moreover, obtained official recognition from such friendly Powers as Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, the Philippines, Manchukuo and National China; and, I am sure, that other Powers will soon extend recognition to our Government. We are happy and proud that we shall soon commence our last struggle for liberty under the leadership of our own Government. For the first time since 1857, we have a Government of our own recognised by so many powerful allies abroad; for the first time since 1857 our countrymen outside India, particularly in Asia and Europe, are standing shoulder to shoulder with their comrades at home; for the first time since 1857, India is fully organized to destroy those who have ruthlessly exploited and oppressed her. The stage is, therefore, set for the last and final battle for Indian independence.'

"Netaji went on to say, 'Countrymen at home and abroad! Lose no time, gird up your loins for the last struggle for Indian independence and plant the flag of freedom on Indian soil. When we begin the long and historic march to Delhi our last battle will have begun, and we shall not rest till the last Britisher is thrown out of India and our flag is flown over the Viceroy's House, and when India's battle of liberation has been won we shall hold victory parade inside the Red Fort in Delhi."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 18, 1943.

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"In his broadcast message to the Chinese people, Netaji said, 'If you want to make China a United Nation by working under the leader, you may. If China wills it, Japan will readily withdraw all her forces from the con-

tinent, which will give you a chance to bring peace and prosperity to the country with the establishment of a Government which will try to achieve prosperity by mutual goodwill between Japan and China'. Netaji continued, 'Today East Asia is faced with a new problem which was never dreamt of before. The restoration of independence to the Philippines and Burma, which have been exploited and dominated for more than a century by white men, with the help and assistance of Japan is a proof of her (Japan's) aim to put herself and the East Asiatic nations on friendly terms.' Referring to his relations with India, he said, 'Just as it is the duty of every Indian to solve the problem of his country's freedom, so should the Chinese feel the same for their own country. I wish to see China rise and shine as a bright star in the new federation of East Asiatic Nations, and I can assert that, that is the only solution of her problems. Today, part of China is free from foreign exploitation, thanks to Japan. The key to the solution of this problem is in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek and of the Chungking Government which seems to have the wild idea of an Anglo-American victory in the present struggle. No one can say how long this war will last, but I can say that however long this war may last, I am sure of our ultimate victory. I am now going to my Southern Headquarters from where we shall soon proceed towards the Burma border to join in the battle against our enemies. In this battle we may have to fight the Chinese forces, in addition to the Anglo-Americans. No one regrets this more bitterly than I do ; but I shall not flinch from any task however distasteful if I have to perform it for the liberation of my country. I am surprised that the Chinese should be helping the Anglo-Americans in India and assisting them to maintain their empire. But I can assure the Chinese people that although China is today helping Britain Indians still hold the Chinese in high esteem. I, however, sincerely hope that the Chinese people will not be deluded by their dishonest leaders any more."

—*SHANGHAI RADIO*, November 23, 1943.

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"In the course of a speech broadcast over Nanking Radio, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said, 'It is imperative that China should unite under a single leader and come to an honourable settlement with Japan. In her recent agreement with the National Chinese Government, Japan

has promised to withdraw her forces from China as soon as war is over. If the Chungking Chinese are sensible enough to sign a peace treaty with Japan, a new era will dawn which will bring everlasting peace and prosperity to Asia. It will increase the enthusiasm of the Indians and strengthen their struggle against British Imperialism. China's economic position will be completely stabilized and her future assured. Since September 1942, Japan has followed a policy which has completely changed the political situation in East Asia. China has a golden opportunity before her today and my advice to my Chinese brethren is 'Do not let it slip.' I am a radical and revolutionary and want every Indian to work sincerely for the cause of his country. In the same way, I want every Chinese to strive for freedom and to zealously guard their national sovereignty. We must forget the past and be conscious only of the present and the future. The British authorities have withdrawn all Indian troops from the eastern frontier as they do not trust them and fear that they will join the Indian National Army at the first opportunity. In place of the Indian troops, the British have stationed Chungking and Anglo-American troops on the frontier. Therefore, when the Indian National Army invades India, it will not only have to fight the British, but the Chungking forces also. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek who says he is a nationalist and patriot has sent his forces to help the Anglo-American imperialists to keep the Indian nationalists down. The Anglo-Americans have won the support of a section of the Chinese by saying that after the defeat of Japan, China will be raised to the status of a first-class power and will be the foremost nation in the whole of Asia. The Chinese must not be taken in by this clever propaganda. They must realise that the defeat of Japan will place the whole of Asia in danger. Instead of helping China to rise, the Anglo-Americans will bleed her white and enrich themselves. All my life I have been fighting British Imperialism. Long terms of imprisonment and torture have not affected my patriotism or my resolve to free my Motherland from the clutches of the British. Even British politicians, the most cunning in the world, were unable to persuade me to forsake my cause and win me over to their side. I am convinced that they will fail in the present case also and will be unable to deceive the Chinese. The Chinese must realise that an honourable agreement with Japan is possible and I very strongly feel that China will do well to come to terms with Japan. If India had been free, I would have come forward to act as mediator. Chinese unity is necessary for the well-being of the Asiatic nations. Without it, Asia cannot progress. Hence, I appeal to my Chinese brethren not to co-operate with the Anglo-Americans. Their duty is to

join the other East Asiatic nations and work for the establishment of a new order of peace and prosperity in East Asia.' Netaji went on to say, 'If you wish, tomorrow you can unite the whole of China under one leader and come to an honourable settlement with Japan. Once that is done, Japan will withdraw all her forces from China. It is not necessary for you to wait till the end of the war. Even now you can attain complete freedom. If you seriously begin national reconstruction now you can fully stabilize China's economic position. Today China has before her an opportunity not even dreamt of during the last few years. Japan's proclamations following the grant of complete freedom to Burma and the Philippines, and the signing of the agreement with the Chinese National Government have shown that Japan is completely sincere about her professions and is willing to help the East Asiatic nations attain freedom and live a life of prosperity. I love my country as deeply and honestly as I expect you to love yours, and I want every Chinese to strive for the freedom of his Motherland. I shall never advise my Chinese brethren to endanger their honour. From my impressions of the policy pursued by Japan since the beginning of the Greater East Asia war, I can say with confidence that the present situation in East Asia has given the Chinese an opportunity to break away from Anglo-American control—an opportunity which the Chinese should not waste. Foreign influence has been completely eradicated from China. The Chinese have only their internal problems to solve, and that is the sole responsibility of the Chungking Government. I fail to understand why Chungking believes that the Anglo-Americans will be successful in the present war. I have toured extensively throughout East Asia and Europe since the war began and know the strength and weakness of the Axis Powers. I am in a position to assert that though the war is certain to be long and bitter, the Anglo-Americans will be finally beaten.'

"Continuing, Netaji said, 'I am leaving today for my Headquarters in Shonan. From there I shall proceed to Burma and thence to the Indo-Burmese frontier. My position as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army compels me to be at the scene of battle, and I feel that the Indian National Army will soon have to fight the British and Chinese forces, which are stationed there. I am unable to understand why Chungking must fight us and help the British to strengthen her hold on India. Why should Chungking, which calls itself a National Government, help a foreign Power to keep one of her sister nations enslaved? Indians sincerely sympathise with the Chinese people. In 1938, when I was President of the Congress, I sent a medical mission to China. Chungking has repaid us by sending her forces to fight us and help the British

maintain their domination. No one could ever imagine that one day Marshal Chiang Kai-shek would order his troops to fight the Indian National Army. If he does so, I trust that Chinese people will never forgive him for helping Britain to continue her imperialistic rule in India.' "

—*NANKING RADIO*, November 24, 1943.

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" Speaking on the occasion of the second anniversary of Pearl Harbour, Sjt. S. C. Bose said that December 8, 1941, was an important and fateful day in world history as it was on that day that Asia set out along the road to freedom. He added : ' All East Asia today stands united under Japan, determined to drive the Anglo-Americans out of Asia. East Asia has now become a stronghold of freedom, which the enemy cannot enter. I am certain that the British will have to flee from India as soon as the combined forces of the East Asiatic nations launch their attack. Though sometime back the Indians sympathised with China in her fight against Japan, the Indians have changed their opinion now. I feel that the Chinese, like the Indians, should not forget national interests. I am not advising my Chinese brethren to lose their honour, I want them to preserve it. The Chinese fought against Japan even after she had handed over all occupied-China to the Chinese National Government of Wang Ching-Wei. China's position will only improve when she ceases to fight Japan and comes to an honourable settlement with her. Two things are essential for the progress of East Asia. They are : Chinese freedom, and India's liberation from Anglo-American clutches.' "

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, December 7, 1943.

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"Speaking from Rangoon yesterday Netaji S. C. Bose said, 'Friends, I hope you remember I inaugurated the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters on December 5, 1943. Since then, officers and men of the Indian National Army have been regularly broadcasting to their countrymen in India. You also know that both the headquarters of the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government of Free India were moved to Burma from

Shonan. A section of the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters was also moved along with them. This section which has now been established as a branch station in Burma will keep in touch with its parent station at Shonan. I consider myself fortunate in being called upon to inaugurate the new broadcasting station of the Indian National Army. The speeches of Indian officers and men from the Indian National Army broadcasting station have impressed our countrymen in India, and especially the members of the British Indian Army. The British military authorities are very much alarmed at the impression these broadcasts have made on the Indian personnel at the front. The advance of the Indian National Army to the very gates of India has increased their alarm considerably. British reaction to this is very interesting. At first, they tried to convince Indians that the Indian National Army was non-existent. When they realized that the Indians knew of its existence, and could be deceived no longer, they started saying that it was composed of Indian prisoners of war, compelled to enlist and rushed through an imperfect course of military training. They had also asserted that these Indians were still loyal to Britain and would desert the Indian National Army at the earliest opportunity. They have evidently forgotten that it is impossible to make anyone fight wholeheartedly without giving him a clear idea of what he is fighting for. When all other methods failed, the All India Radio started abusing me in a language more vulgar and coarse than even the proverbial language of Billingsgate. I am, however, confident that the respect Indian nationalists have for me will not be affected in the least by this vile campaign of abuse. It is a pity that British propagandists do not realise that this abuse is an indirect admission that what I am doing at present is for the good of India and the Indians, and a patent proof of my sincerity. Every Indian knows that I could easily have stayed on in India after my release from prison in 1940. But, some sixth sense prompted me to leave the country. During the past few years I have been devoting all my time and energies for the liberation of the Motherland. Only now I realized that Providence has been guiding my movements during these three years. If I had not left India in 1940, the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government of Free India would not have been formed, and India would not be as near freedom as she is now. During these years I have visited all East Asiatic countries. I know that Japan and all other East Asiatic countries are determined to help the Indians in their struggle against Britain and to liberate India. Only a fool will think that Japan can force the 3,000,000 Indians in East Asia to obey her. I have been to Japan many times, and have con-

versed with all her leaders. During these visits I have found out that Japan is very sincere in her promises, and she is genuinely anxious to help the people of Asia obtain freedom. Indians in East Asia without exception have come forward voluntarily to use this opportunity for liberating their Motherland from Anglo-American domination, they have dedicated their lives to the noble cause of Indian independence. It is certain that the Indian National Army will succeed in its mission. The British will soon be driven out of India once and for all.' "

—*FREE INDIA RADIO*, Saigon, February 29, 1944.

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"In the course of a speech Netaji said that the forces of freedom have victoriously crossed the Indian frontier in order to put an end to British rule in India. Commenting upon this success of the Indian National and Japanese Armies, Mr. Bose appealed strongly to the people of East Asia and India to co-operate with these forces in their crusade against the British. He said that the battle for Indian independence was now being fought on the very soil of India. Comparing the present struggle for freedom with the Mutiny of 1857, Netaji Bose said that although the struggle was well-organised, the people were not so fully prepared as they are now. At that time there was no ally nor was there time to train the mutineers. But, even then the mutiny had achieved one end; it had given a new impetus to the Indian movement for independence, and during the last 30 years this movement has taken a revolutionary turn. Netaji went on to say that the last two years have seen this movement enter upon a new phase, and it had been felt that in this struggle the use of armed force was necessary. The spectacular Japanese victories in East Asia had encouraged the Indian patriots, and as a result the Indian National Army was born. Mr. Bose went on to say that today, the Indian National Army with the help of Japan had inflicted heavy defeats on the British. Netaji continued, the freedom of India will demand many sacrifices. To win freedom one should first make oneself worthy of it. So long as we do not cultivate the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of our country, we cannot enjoy independence in the real sense. Is it not a fact that Indian wealth is being exploited by the English and that thousands of Indian youths are dying of hunger? But this is nothing compared to the losses which will have to be endured in the battle for

freedom. No Indian should give any assistance to the British war effort. Britain is spreading the rumour that Japan cares nothing for Indian independence and is only helping the Indian National Army so that she herself may conquer India. This is typical example of British propaganda; and I don't think anyone will believe it. If the English can call Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal and Maulana Azad the enemies of India, is it very surprising that Japan is placed in the same category? I know what Japan's policy is towards India, and I can assure my countrymen that she is most anxious to see India free. Today, India's war of independence is the war of all Asia."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, March 25, 1944.

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"In his proclamation setting forth the aims of the Provisional Government of Free India, Netaji Bose says, 'Under the command of the Provisional Government of Free India, the Indian National Army has invaded India and has penetrated deep on Indian soil. People of India! This government is our own and we should help it to accomplish its aim, which is to liberate our Motherland from Anglo-American domination. The Indian National Army will not lay down its arms till our oppressors are completely driven out of India. The task of our Government is two-fold: firstly, to drive out her enemies and then repair the damage they have done to the country; and, secondly, to establish proper administrative machinery for the liberated areas. Before I proceed further, I want to impress upon you that the Provisional Government has implicit faith in Japanese sincerity and is banking upon their help. On behalf of the Provisional Government, I wish to stress that Japan has no designs on India, military, economic, territorial or political.' Continuing, the Netaji stated, 'The Provisional Government is busy making preparations for the administration of the liberated areas. You all know that it has already appointed an Executive under Lt.-Col. Chatterjee to govern liberated India. It has also decided to use its own currency in the liberated areas and has printed rupee notes. But, the advance into India was carried out by the Indian National Army at such a rapid rate that the preparations of the Provisional Government have not been able to keep pace with it. Hence, I regret that the rupee notes of the Provisional Government may not be circulated for some time to come till that time it has been decided to use Japanese currency instead, but, I can assure you that they will be replaced with the rupee

notes of the Provisional Government as soon as conditions permit.' The Netaji concluded with an appeal to all Indians to co-operate with the Provisional Government and the Indian National Army."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, April 17, 1944.

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" In a telegraphic message to Herr Adolf Htler, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose says, 'On behalf of the Provisional Government of Free India and the Indian National Army, I wish you, the Head of the German Armed Forces who are bravely fighting the invaders, an early and complete victory. India firmly believes in the ultimate victory of the Tripartite Powers, along with whom she is now fighting the common enemy. I am confident that under Your Excellency's leadership Germany will completely rid the world of the Anglo-American imperialists'. "

—*BERLIN RADIO* (In Bengali) June 20, 1944.

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"On the first day of Netaji Week S.C. Bose made the following statement: 'Now that the Indian National Army veterans have set foot on Indian soil we have three zones of action: first, East Asia, which is the great centre of our political and milltary activities; secondly, the newly-liberated Indian area where our government will act in accordance with our principles; and, thirdly, Occupied India, which will assist us in our efforts and over which before long our flag will be unfurled."

—*TOKYO RADIO*. July 4, 1944.

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"In a speech Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose declared, 'It was only after Japan took what I consider to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, the declaration of war on Britain and America that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. Like so many of my countrymen, I did not understand why Japan went to war with China in 1937 and

like so many of my countrymen my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. What I realised after my visit to Japan and what many people at home do not yet realise is that since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, Japan's attitude towards the world in general, and the Asiatic nations in particular, has been completely revolutionized.

"It is a change that has overtaken not merely the Government but also the people of Japan. The new consciousness which I may best describe as Asiatic consciousness is reflected in the present attitude towards the Philippines, Burma and India; and it explains Japan's new policy towards China. After my visit to Japan, and after establishing close contact with the present day leaders of that country, I am fully satisfied that Japan's present policy towards Asia is no bluff, but really sincere. After my second visit to Japan in November 1943, I visited the Philippines where I met Philippine leaders there and saw things for myself. I have also been in Burma for a fairly long time and I have been able to see things with my own eyes after the declaration of independence. And, I have been to China to find out if Japan's new policy was real or whether it was a fake. The latest agreement between Japan and the National Government of China has given the Chinese people practically all that they had demanded. Under that agreement Japan has agreed to withdraw her troops from China after the termination of hostilities. What then is Chungking fighting for? Can one believe that Britain and America are helping Chungking China out of purely altruistic motives? Will not Britain and America demand their pound of flesh in return for the help that they are giving to Chungking to make her continue the fight against Japan? I clearly see that Britain and America are taking full advantage of Chungking's past hatred and antagonism towards Japan and the Anglo-Americans have made Chiang Kai-shek mortgage China to them. So long as Japan did not initiate her present policy towards China, there might have been some justification of excuse for the Chinese to seek British and American aid to fight Japan. But now that an entirely new chapter in Sino-Japanese relations has been inaugurated, there is not the slightest excuse for Chungking to continue her meaningless struggle against Japan."

"In April, 1943, Mahatma Gandhi said that if he were free to do so he would work for an understanding between China and Japan. That was an utterance of rare statesmanship. It is India's slavery that is at the bottom, responsible for the present chaos in China. It is because of the British hold over India that the Anglo-Americans can bluff Chungking into hoping that sufficient help can be brought to Chungking through India to enable Chungking to continue the war against Japan. There is absolutely no doubt that a Free India will

work for peace between Japan and China. I will go so far as to say that the freedom of India will automatically bring about an honourable understanding between Chungking and Japan, opening the eyes of Chungking to the folly that she is now committing. Unfortunately, the Anglo-Americans have been able to deceive the ruling clique in Chungking into believing that if Japan can somehow be defeated then China will become a dominant power in Asia. The fact, however, is that if Japan is defeated by any chance, then China will inevitably pass under American influence and control and be at the mercy of the Anglo-Americans. That will be a tragedy for China and for the whole of Asia. It is impelled by this false hope of becoming a dominant power in Asia, if Japan could be defeated somehow, that the ruling clique in Chungking has entered into an unholy alliance with the ruling clique at the White House and at Whitehall.' "

" 'There was a time when people used to say that Japan had selfish intentions regarding India. If this allegation were correct would she have recognised the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should she decide to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar islands to the Provisional Government of Free India? Why should Japan unconditionally help the Indian people in East Asia in their struggle for independence? How much help we will need from Japan till the last Britisher is expelled from the soil of India depends on the amount of co-operation that we receive from our countrymen inside India. Japan will be happy if the Indian people can liberate themselves through their own exertions. It is we who asked for assistance from Japan after declaring war on Britain and U. S.'

" 'I earnestly hope that my countrymen will not even think of compromising with Britain on the issue of independence under the mistaken notion that the Anglo-Americans will win the war. Having travelled round the world under war-time conditions and having seen things with my own eyes, I can vouch for the internal weakness of our enemies on the Indo-Burmese frontier and inside India. Having also taken stock of our strength and resources, I am absolutely confident that we shall win final victory. I know that we have a long and hard struggle in front of us. I am aware that on the soil of India, Britain will fight with determination and tenacity in her desperate attempt to save the empire. But, I know also that however long and hard the struggle may be, there can be but one outcome—total and complete victory for us. India's last war of Independence has begun.' "

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, July 10, 1944.

"Reviewing the historic events of the past one year during which the Indian National Army fought its way into Indian territory and is now poised for further advances, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose affirmed his determination to carry on the war of Indian Independence until the country was finally free from British shackle. Twelve months ago, he said, the programme that he placed before the Indians in East Asia was one of total mobilization, and added: I then demand of my countrymen an increasing flow of men, money and materials so that we could prepare for and launch an armed struggle for the freedom of our country. Referring to the reorganisation, expansion and intensive training of the army which he demanded of them, Netaji Bose recalled the assurance he then gave to his countrymen, namely, that if they responded to the call for total mobilisation, they would be able to set up a second front in India's struggle for independence. Though they had yet to travel a long way before total mobilisation could be fully effected, he said, nevertheless, he gratefully acknowledged the fact that his countrymen in East Asia had responded generously to his appeal. Accordingly, it had been possible to fulfil his pledge to set up a second front in India, and today the Indian Army of Liberation was fighting the enemy on the sacred soil of India. Proceeding, the Netaji gratefully acknowledged the fact that he actually received more money than he had demanded to finance the Indian Independence movement, though collections up to date were but a fraction of what might actually be necessary in the future. In the execution of the financial programme, they had been able to start a bank of their own, the National Bank of Azad Hind, Ltd., in the beginning of April, 1944. The Bank had proved to be such a success that branches had already been opened in some places, and more would be opened in the future. The Netaji added that he did not in the least doubt that in future it will be possible to continue to finance the Independence movement with Indian money.'

"Referring to the active phase of the campaign, Netaji Bose said: 'The response to my call for men has been perhaps the most outstanding of all. Owing to the unprecedented rush to join the army, we have had no difficulty at all regarding recruitment. We have in East Asia a considerable potential supply of recruits who can be called up at any time. Consequently, the expansion of our Army will go on uninterrupted. Mr. Bose said that one of the most remarkable achievements had been the awakening of the Indians in East Asia, and the enthusiastic response they had made to the call for recruits to the Rani of Jhansi

Regiment. Such units of this Regiment as had completed their training, he added, had made a profound impression upon everybody by their revolutionary zeal, smart turn-out and military efficiency. The formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21, 1943, he said, was a step that was deemed imperative when preparations for the coming struggle were proceeding satisfactorily and the Indian troops were moving forward towards the Indo-Burmese frontier. It was, moreover, a step taken in accordance with revolutionary technique as known and practised all over the world. Netaji Bose said that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had been recognised by Japan and Germany and seven other friendly Powers, and added giving us a new status and a new prestige in the eyes of the whole world and serving as a powerful inspiration to our freedom fighters.'

"Netaji went on to say that the first significant step taken by the newly-formed Provisional Government was to declare war on Britain and America on October 23, 1943, which was followed a few days later by the historic conference of East Asiatic nations in Tokyo, which India attended as an observer. According to Netaji, this conference served to establish a feeling of complete solidarity between the free nations of Greater East Asia, on the one hand, and India on the other. He also recalled the momentous declaration made at the conference by the Premier, General Hideki Tojo, to the effect that his Government had decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. In pursuance of this declaration, Colonel A. D. Loganadan, a high-ranking officer of the Azad Hind Fauj and a Minister of the Provisional Government, was appointed the first Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and he assumed his duties on February 21, 1944.

"Proceeding. Netaji Bose outlined the work carried on in the field of propaganda. Early in December, 1943, a special broadcasting station called the I. N. A. Broadcasting Station was started. After the transfer of the headquarters of the Provisional Government to Burma, a second I. N. A. Broadcasting Station was started near the Indo-Burmese frontier. Two other broadcasting stations were also run by the Provisional Government. Netaji Bose acknowledged the magnanimous sympathy and support which the Provisional Government had been receiving from the independent Government of Burma, since the transfer of the headquarters from Shonan to Burma.

Referring to the military campaign, he said that the Indian war of independence was launched in the Arakan region

on February 4 this year. That was for the Azad Hind Fauj its baptism of fire. Out of this test the Indian troops had come out with flying colours. Their deeds of valour had been rapaid by the conferment upon them of a number of decorations. The war was carried to another sector of the Indo-Burmese frontier—the Tiddim sector—almost a month later, and one week thereafter a general offensive began in the direction of Manipur and Assam, and very soon the Indian frontier was crossed at a number of points. Units of the Azad Hind Fauj, side by side with units of the Imperial Japanese Army, marched into Manipur and Assam. Since then, fighting had been going on inside the frontier of India. Indian contingents had also been fighting in the Kaladan and Haka sectors. The Netaji added : Though of late our progress has not been spectacular, we have, nevertheless, been pushing on slowly but steadily. In spite of casualties inevitable in war, in spite of the inclement rainy season, in spite of the ravages of malaria and other diseases, and in spite of numerous other difficulties and hardships, our troops have achieved brilliant successes on the soil of India, which have been a source of unending inspiration to them as they have been to all those who have been working on the home front.'

"Continuing, Netaji Bose referred to the problem which confronted the Provisional Government of administering the liberated areas as the enemy fell back. This problem had long been foreseen and in order to tackle it, the Reconstruction Department of the Indian Independence League had already prepared the necessary personnel and equipment. The Netaji paid a glowing tribute to those gallant men and women of the organisation known as the *Azad Dal* who had been helping to reconstruct the liberated areas and added that they deserved the warmest appreciation. 'Do or die', he said, was the spirit that animated not only the Army but also those on the home front.

"Outlining the tasks of the future, the Netaji concluded : 'Firstly, we must continue our successes on the fighting front and must advance further and further into India. To this end we must send reinforcements in men and supplies to the front. Secondly, we must expand the *Azad Hind Dal* which will have to take on more and more work in the future as our Army penetrates deeper into India. We also have to perfect our plans and preparations for administration and reconstruction of Free India. Thirdly, we must further strengthen the home front, and to that end we must speed up the mobilization of men, money and supplies.' "

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY*, July 21, 1944.

"In the course of a speech Sjt. S. C. Bose said, 'It seems to me that some prominent nationalists in India have lost the courage to fight the common enemy. 'Quit India' is not a party or communal slogan—it is the voice of the whole nation.' Commenting on the military situation Netaji said that, 'in modern warfare temporary successes or failures cannot by themselves be decisive.' 'Nobody', he said, 'can guarantee final victory for the Allies. It is quite probable that they will not win. Foolish politicians keep on safeguarding their own interests, are ready to compromise with the British, but this will be nothing but treachery. The Indian National Army, however, has resolved to fight or die in the attempt. It will not lay down arms until India is completely free from Anglo-American domination. Both in the East and the West, liberated countries, armed to the hilt, have resolved to wipe out the Anglo-American menace. These liberated countries are mentally more alive than any of the British Dominions. I feel strongly that the Anglo-Americans are destined to lose this war, and after their defeat a Free India will be born.' In conclusion, Mr. Bose said, 'The Indian National Army will not slacken its efforts, for it knows how anxiously its compatriots are waiting for its triumphant entry into India'."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 12, 1944.

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" 'The great ideal of the Indian nation is to free the Motherland from British bondage and this can only be realized when with a united front we have fought this war and have succeeded in establishing our own Government, declared Mr. S. C. Bose on Sunday. He said that Japan, with her accumulated power, will exploit every situation to the best of her ability with widespread attack on the enemy throughout East Asia. Mr. Bose went on to say, 'The present war situation can hardly be called favourable to the Axis Powers, but large-scale preparations for the decisive battle are not in progress in Japan, and in all other liberated nations in East Asia. Despite the recent setbacks, there is no ground for pessimism. In fact the British know the strength of our movement, and that is why there is all this anxiety for a settlement between the Government and the Indian people. He further said that such a settlement, if it ever came about, would be against the interests of the country. Commenting on the 'Quit India' resolution, he declared that it was the voice of the people as a whole and not that of a party or a section of the people, so

that no leader who went against the dictates of the nation could in any way bring about a change in outlook. Continuing, he reminded the Indian people of the Congress resolution of 1928, which demanded complete independence, and told them that whatever the aspirations of a single individual person might be, the spirit to fight until complete victory and independence had been won was still alive. 'Of course,' he went on, 'the Indians of East Asia and the Indian Army of Liberation will fight to a successful end.' Dwelling upon the course of the war, Netaji said that as it was in the last Great War, those nations would be victorious who will be able to prolong it. 'That is why,' he declared, 'the Anglo-Americans will fail.' The successes of Soviet Russia, he said, will cause unknown troubles. He said that the East Asiatic countries, with the collaboration of Japan, were making huge preparations for Total War. The Axis Powers were still in a position to deal hard and decisive blows. He said that the recent change in the Japanese Cabinet was the most striking proof of this determination. The Indian Army of Liberation, Netaji observed, had proved its worth by its daring exploits; and in spite of a feeling of hopelessness in ultimate victory shown by some of the Indian leaders the Indian National Army will never give up. They would carry on the fight until freedom was won. He declared that Pakistan was not only against the spirit of most Indians, but quite impracticable. Netaji concluded with these words, 'Nothing can bar the way for the Indian Army of Liberation's march into India, because India as a whole will welcome them."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), August 13, 1944.

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"A dispatch from a base in Burma says that at a grand rally of Indians in Burma held on Monday in observance of the sixth-monthly *Azad Hind Day* commemorating the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India, Netaji S. C. Bose exhorted the gathering by emphasizing the fact that now is the time for accumulating the entire resources in men and material of Indians in East Asia in preparation for the march to Delhi.

"Netaji observed, 'Some elder nationalists in India are showing signs of losing confidence, and out of this weakness is arising a fealing among them that it is advisable to come to a compromise with British Imperialism. But, these cowardly people seem to forget that even if compromise was possible,

the vast majority of the Indian people will not countenance it. Continuing Netaji Bose said: 'The *Quit India* resolution which was adopted two years ago was not a resolution sponsored by one leader of a small group of Nationalists, but was the grim resolve deliberately taken by the entire Indian nation. Consequently, any leader who ignores the 'Quit India' resolution and enters into a compromise with British Imperialism will not alter the irrevocable attitude of the Indian people which is symbolised in the words 'Liberty or Death !' Mr. Bose then added : 'The issue of independence *versus* compromise was finally settled in 1929 when the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution setting complete independence and freedom as the goal of the Indian nation and no matter what any individual leader demands the Indian people will not turn back on that decision. Bound to the decision, the Indians in East Asia and the Indian National Army will go on fighting until India is fully liberated from the Anglo-American yoke.'

"Referring to the general war situation, Mr. S. C. Bose said that the situation at present cannot be said to be favourable to the Axis Powers. He emphasised, however, that in a war of such a great magnitude no side can have uninterrupted victories, but there can be no doubt that it is the Anglo-Americans who are ultimately going to be defeated. Referring to the European situation, Mr. S.C. Bose said that any further successes scored by the Red Army will mean greater friction and conflict between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans. He said, however, that the influence of the Anglo-American Powers is being exterminated once for all. He then went on to point out that in Japan and other countries of East Asia, gigantic preparations are going on for the approaching decisive battles, and Japan will choose her own place and time to deal a knock-out blow. Mr. S.C. Bose then added: 'The Axis Powers are putting forward super-human efforts to rally their strength and resources for the coming decisive phase of the conflict. It was in the pursuit of this effort that the reshuffling of the cabinet was found necessary in Japan.'

"Speaking of the morale of the Indians in East Asia, Mr. Bose said that they were more determined than ever before to fight still harder and face greater sufferings and make more sacrifices in order to achieve their long-cherished goal of complete independence. According to Mr. Bose as a result of the total mobilization the entire Indian community of the whole of East Asia had become equally interested in the fate of the Indian independence movement. Netaji then added, 'The only unfortunate omen is that the unshakable confidence in final victory that the Indians in East Asia have

is not shared by some of the older Indian nationalists.' Referring to the talk of establishing Pakistan which is going on in India on the initiative of some of the ever-ready compromise-wallahs, Mr. S. C. Bose said: 'The Pakistan plan is something which no Indian nationalist will approve or countenance, whatever his religion or caste. No matter what the compromise-mongers and Pakistanis may say, the Indian National Army will march onward to its goal, fully confident that the vast majority of Indian people at home will welcome it with open arms'."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 18, 1944.

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"Speaking to the chief workers of the Indian Independence League, Departmental heads, Ministers and Advisers, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose said :—

'We started operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River traffic had to be against current. Against this the enemy had first class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rain started ; and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if their forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January we would have succeeded. In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also we advanced. In the Haka Sector we held them. And these all, in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.

'When the rains came we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanised divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima-Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open · Either hold on to the Bishenpur-Palel Line and not allow the enemy to advance : or fall back and hold a more advantageous position.

'What are the lessons we have learnt from this campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted, preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

"Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our Commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started, the Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given. Our Divisional Commander and other Officers have gained much experience from this campaign.

"We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no front-line propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this, we could not use it owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each Unit of the Indian National Army will have a propaganda unit attached to it. We wanted loud speakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making

—*RANGOON RADIO*, August 21, 1944.

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"In a speech delivered in Tokyo, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose spoke about the activities of the INA and the fighting in Burma and said, 'Recently, owing to unfavourable weather conditions and some other reasons we have had to withdraw temporarily in some sectors of the front. But, we are confident that when we resume the offensive we shall be able to beat our enemies once again and force them to retreat. In this connection I want to tell you that for some special reasons the fight on the Indo-Burma frontier will be a very bad one--in fact the hardest battle in the whole Indian campaign. The British have fortified the Indo-Burmese frontier and made it their Maginot Line. They know that when this Maginot Line is once broken, they will not be able to put up such a strong defence anywhere in India. The battle for Chittagong and Imphal will be much more than a local battle. It will be in essence and substance the battle of India. In other words, the future fate of India will be decided on the hills and in the jungles which bar the way to Chittagong and Imphal, and the effect of an advance into Bengal and Assam, on India as a whole, will be tremendous. The Indian people will then see with their own eyes the British running back and they will be convinced that the fall of the British Empire is imminent. Once the Indian people are convinced that the defeat of the British is a certainty they will rise in revolt."

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY, November 3, 1944.*

"On November 3, Mr. S. C. Bose, speaking in Tokyo said, 'The present war is about to enter a new phase. The Japanese Imperial forces have dealt mortal blows to the enemy's land, air and naval forces, the latter having lost more than 200 ships, including 50 aircraft-carriers in the battles off the Philippines and Formosa alone. The sinking of Allied shipping continues. The enemy has not yet announced his total losses in these battles but on Wednesday last, he admitted the loss of several aircraft-carriers. In addition, 3,000 enemy planes have been destroyed or damaged. Japanese forces are inflicting a series of defeats on the American and Chungking forces in China and have captured many important air bases. The fall of Eveilin is imminent. The present war is entering a new phase and Japan is preparing to deal the enemy the last and decisive blow.'"

—*TOKYO RADIO, November 4, 1944.*

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"Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who conferred with Gen. Koiso, the Prime Minister of Japan in Tokyo on November 4, declared that since the formation of the Indian Provisional Government last year, the Indian people throughout Greater East Asia had consistently worked to marshal all the available resources at their command and to help the Japanese expedite the realisation of the common ideal. Now that the war had already entered the most decisive phase, continued Mr. Bose, the Indians were redoubling their efforts so that the destruction of the enemy might be brought about at the earliest date."

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY, November 4, 1944*

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"In his speech at the Indian rally in Tokyo yesterday evening, Netaji S. C. Bose said: 'The brilliant Japanese successes off the Philippines and Taiwan are the beginning of a new phase of the war. I am certain that today we are in the third and final stage of the war. In the beginning, Japan and her allies achieved grand successes, whereas the enemy suffered heavy defeats on all fronts. The second stage, which witnessed the counter-offensive by our enemies has now terminated. Japan and her allies will seize the initiative in the third and final stage.'

"Referring to the co-operation of Japanese forces with the *Azad Hind Fauj* and the Burmese Defence Army on the Indo-Burma front, Netaji said, 'We have had ample proof that we are all ready to pay the price of freedom in blood in order to realize our just aims. We are fighting for truth and justice and since we are ready to pay the price of our freedom in blood, no power in the world can stand between us and our final victory. The Anglo-Americans know that they are not fighting for a noble cause nor do they possess spiritual strength. They hope to win this war by force of arms. Like previous wars it will prove that material strength cannot overcome the human spirit in the long run. As our enemies only trust their arms and strength, they are making futile attempts to end this war before their complete exhaustion. They are gambling with human lives whereas we are calm and fighting this war with confidence and unflinching determination. Even time is against the Anglo-Americans. However hard and long this struggle may be, it can naver shake our firm determination not to lay down arms till final victory is won. We are ready for a long and hard struggle. It took the British hundreds of years to enslave us, so we cannot expect to eject them in a month. Naturally, it will take us some time to win our freedom. The liberation of India will deliver almost one-fifth of the population of the world, so full price must be paid for the emancipation of such a big country.'

"Reassuring the Japanese nation, Netaji S. C. Bose declared, 'We will follow you through thick and thin. Having promised to co-operate with you we will continue to do so no matter how difficult that may be. Your determination to stake your all to achieve final victory is proved by your brilliant successes. The enemy cannot deny your brilliant triumphs. Your unflinching determination and sacrifices have heightened the morale of other belligerents."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (*Saigon*), *November 4, 1944.*

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"Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind*, gave detailed description of the political situation in India in a broadcast speech to the Japanese nation. Netaji told the Japanese nation that the people of India in general were anxious to assist Japan in the prosecution of the war in the East, but that the chaos of communal antagonism among Indians and the intentional interference of the Anglo-Americans in Indian home affairs had proved fatal to

Indian freedom. Netaji declared that another talk between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, the two great Indian leaders, would perhaps succeed in uniting the two communities. Mr. Bose said that Mr. Jinnah still seems to be adhering to his Pakistan scheme, which aims at dividing India into two parts on a communal basis, but perhaps he ignores the fact that the partitioning of India will further diminish Indian national strength and India will meet the same fate as the Balkans are now suffering in Europe. Netaji went on to say, 'While Mahatma Gandhi is a true nationalist whose very life has been spent in endeavouring to unite all the Indian communities, the rift in the lute between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah is extremely wide and cannot be abolished by airy conversations which are probably designed to mislead the Indian peoples.' Mr. Bose, however, hoped that despite all these difficulties the Indian National Army will succeed in freeing the Indian people from the shackles of slavery'."

—*TOKYO RADIO* (In Hindustani), November 7, 1944

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"Netaji S. C. Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, addressing New Year Greetings to the nationals of Greater East Asia voiced an immutable resolve to fight out the war. The freedom-loving Indians will not cease their struggle, he emphasised, until the last Englishman has been driven out of India. Netaji said, 'It is only natural that a war of such magnitude as the present one should shake the foundations of the world. It is also natural that attempts at destroying the old order and creating a new order on its ruins should require a long and painful struggle. We Indians are well aware of the gravity and difficulties of the mission imposed upon us. We well know how strong British Imperialism is and how crafty the British are. We are well aware that it is not an easy task to destroy British Imperialism, which is supported by the United States and other Allied Nations. Believing as we do in the strength of India's revolutionary Nationalism and the might of our Allies, and fully aware of the corruption of British Imperialism, we confidently look forward to final victory'."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, January 1, 1945.

Appreciation of Netaji's Work

APPRECIATION OF NETAJI'S WORK

"In an article dealing with Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's arrival in Japan and his reception by Prime Minister Tojo, the *Deutsche Diplomatische Korrespondenz* points out that this is a political event which has aroused much attention in Europe and East Asia. The correspondent writes that Subhas Chandra Bose is the only Indian nationalist leader who is still at liberty. Both in Berlin and Rome, Bose proved to be an intelligent and eloquent advocate of Indian independence, and he gained many friends in these countries. He was received on several occasions by the Reich Foreign Minister, and later on also by the Fuehrer and the Duce. While in Europe he gained the conviction that the people of the Tripartite Powers and the Indian people are natural allies in their common battle against British Imperialism. Although Germany was sorry to see Bose leave, the reasons which have called him back to East Asia find full appreciation. India has become the neighbour of the Japanese sphere of interest, and the unparalleled victories of Japan in South East Asia have given the Indian independence movement a new impetus. Bose is finding manifold and far-reaching tasks to solve in East Asia, when in his recent speech Prime Minister Tojo promised the Indian people that Japan would exhaust all possibilities and means to assist India in ridding herself of alien rule, and from past experiences in East Asia, the Indians know that Japanese promises are invariably followed by deeds. The motives of Subhas Chandra Bose's trip to Japan, and the fact that he was accorded and received a welcome wherever he made a stop is added proof for the Indian people that the war has stopped to be an Anglo-American one. It is needless to add in this connection that the British authorities in India will not be delighted to hear of Bose's return. The situation in India has not improved in any way in favour of the British. India is an example of Britain's incapability of finding a solution for the Indian problem. A powerful effort directed towards regeneration and liberation from the alien regime must of necessity come from the Indian people themselves. There can be no doubt that this process is in full swing, and that under the leadership of true Indian patriots, such as Bose, the Indian movement of Independence will result in the final liberation of the Indian people."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, June 19, 1943

"*The Nippon Times*, in a special issue, asserts that the people of Japan have warmly welcomed Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as a great nationalist leader of India who has given his life to the cause of Indian struggle of independence. The *Nippon Times* writes, every Asiatic citizen is naturally proud of such a patriotic leader who is a beacon of light for India's 400,000,000 people struggling for independence. The unparalleled victories of Japan and her Axis allies have offered the Indians a unique opportunity, such as has never occured before duing the last 300 years, to attain their long cherished freedom. The Indians should not miss this opportunity of destroying British oppression and becoming free men once again. As the leader of East Asia, Japan considers it her pious duty to see her Asiatic neighbours free and prosperous which alone can lead to unbroken peace in East Asia.' The paper draws the attention of Indians to the recent speech of Premier Tojo in which he had stated that he felt both pity and indignation when he thought of the miserable Indian situation as well as the injustice prevailing in that country. Therefore, Japan had firmly resolved to put an end to British oppression of India once and for all, because Britain alone was responsible for India's utter helplessness and misery."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon). June 21, 1943.

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"The well-known newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* today made the following comment on the speech made by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose before the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association : The presence of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in Japan is particularly significant because our country, Japan, has long been an ardent supporter of Indian independence. In future Japan will continue to render every assistance to the Indian people. It has always been Japan's aim to expel British influence from India as well as to continue the war against the Anglo-Saxon Powers in order to ensure other people's prosperity irrespective of caste or religion. The position of Japan and India is identical in that they have the same ideal, namely, the destruction of the arrogant Anglo-Saxon Powers. As Mr. Bose emphatically declared, the question of India's independence is primarily the concern of the Indian people, and it can only be won by the efforts of the Indian masses,

whether they have to shed their blood for their cause or not. Mr. Bose's exciting words that force will be met with force, both within and without India, will not fall on deaf ears. On the contrary, the Indian independence movement is already showing signs of emerging as a positive force, and the day is not far off when it will take a decisive turn. Mr. Bose said, 'Blood must be shed for winning our independence, i. e., India's independence, unless won through bloodshed, would not be real. Therefore, we are determined to fight with all our strength against our enemy, Britain. As Britain has drawn the sword, India too must do the same in return. The Civil Disobedience movement must be turned into an armed fight, when we have won our independence through bloodshed, then alone will we be entitled to it.' These were the fiery words of Mr. Bose addressed to his fellow countrymen.

"At last the Indians have got a leader in the person of Mr. Bose who is all for armed fighting and who wishes to pit might against might. Asia calls upon you, Oh people of India, to fight under the leadership of this great patriot! In this titanic war, you Indians are not alone. The Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo, has already declared in his Diet Speech that the Japanese Government will not only extend to you every possible assistance, but will fight shoulder to shoulder with you. The noble ideal of the Japanese nation, under which every country and community will flourish and prosper, is now being realized in Greater East Asia. Whereas, the European Powers had made East Asia their object of exploitation and oppression, the Japanese have inaugurated a New Order in these regions. But, while the countries of Greater East Asia are marching fast towards prosperity and independence, India is still struggling against the tyrannical British for her independence. The miseries that India is suffering today have caused the Japanese Government to make a firm resolve to crush British rule in India so that Indians may regain their long cherished independence. Premier Tojo further declared that the days are not far off when Indians will attain their freedom and be prosperous once more. Japan has promised to render every assistance to Mr. Subhas Bose for the purpose of winning Indian independence, and she always keeps her word. People of India, rise. The people in Japan and East Asia are ready to assist you to win your struggle for freedom."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, June 24, 1943.

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The Nippon Times, in an editorial under the caption 'Welcome to Subhas Chandra Bose' declared: 'Japan wel-

comes with pleasure Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Free India who is here in Tokyo on his first visit after nearly a year.' Welcome is accorded not only out of respect due to his position, but the admiration which the Japanese people feel for the courage and ability of this great character who typifies India's determination which has grown with the growth of his achievements during the past year. The Government of Azad Hind which Mr. Bose inaugurated has been progressively organised and its functions expanded and consolidated. The active support of the increasing millions of patriotic Indians has been won. The Indian National Army has taken its place in the front rank of the battle front against Asia's mortal enemy and has received its baptism of fire under which it has acquitted itself with glory.

The journal says : ' Whereas the Provisional Government of Free India was a year ago a promise, today it is a promise fulfilled and its great hopes are now well on the road to realization. It is for these great accomplishments, made possible by the indefatigable energy of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, that Japan offers her admiration. So, at this time when Mr. Bose comes to Japan fresh from his laurels of the past year, the Japanese nation accords him a hero's acclaim and assures him that Japan's sympathy and support will continue to grow in the future as it has grown during the past year, until India, together with Japan and all the other countries of East Asia, enjoy unmenaced freedom and glory which their joint victory will ultimately secure."

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY*, November 2, 1944.

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" The Japanese forces welcomed the great Indian leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, on the occasion of his visit to Japan after one year. The Japanese nation respects Netaji Subhas Bose for his enthusiasm and capable leadership and is well pleased by Netaji's unreserved co-operation with Japan in the war in East Asia. During the past year, Netaji and his men have achieved some very brilliant successes in the East Asian conflict and in view of these victories the entire Japanese nation is jubilant over Netaji's visit to Japan.

" Japan, being the only free country in East Asia, respects the Netaji S. C. Bose who is a valiant fighter for freedom, and appreciates the spirit of this great Indian patriot, who has pledged his all to liberate his Motherland."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 2, 1944.

"Offering the toast at the banquet given in honour of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who is here on official business, at his official residence last evening (November 4) Gen. Koiso, the Prime Minister of Japan, heartily welcomed Mr. Bose and his suite as well as the other distinguished guests and expressed his sincere good wishes for the future growth of the Provisional Government. General Koiso declared: 'Since October 21, last year when the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed by Mr. Bose and other patriotic Indians who have an earnest desire to liberate India from the British yoke and achieve her independence, the Provisional Government has, under the most difficult conditions, kept on fighting with supreme courage and undaunted fighting spirit. I wish to pay my profound respects to Mr. Bose and the other members of the Provisional Government for their untiring efforts. The Anglo-Saxons have snatched away territories in East Asia and enslaved their peoples by their crafty machinations and by relentless use of armed force. In order to maintain their domination of East Asia, they have tried, by an importation of material civilisation, to corrupt the spirit of the Orientals and deprive them of their freedom.

"General Koiso went on to say, 'Japan has kept up her sincere efforts to defend East Asia against their inordinate ambition to dominate it. With the outbreak of the Greater East Asia war, however, the one million people of East Asia were awakened to their national pride and their mission to liberate East Asia and they stood up simultaneouly to frustrate British American aggression. I profoundly sympathise with the miserable lot of Indians who for many years have been tormented by British tyranny, and, at the same time, as an Asiatic I feel moral indignation at Britain's ruthless exploitation of India. I feel confident that in the struggle for independence, Mr. Bose and other members of the Provisional Government will inspire all freedom-loving Indians to rise so as to purge British influence from Indian soil and to establish completely an independent state."

"Continuing General Koiso declared, 'Being desirous of the healthy growth of the Provincial Government and a speedy realisation of its aims, Japan will persistently continue to render every possible assistance, both material and spiritual, to the Provisional Government. The day after tomorrow is the anniversary of the historic Joint Declaration of the Greater East Asiatic Nations. The five principles of that Joint Declaration embody the common aims of the whole of the East Asiatic peoples to restore East Asia, which has been groaning for several hundred years under British and American aggression, to its proper place, by establishing in East Asia a New Order based on mutual respect and coprosperity. It is clear from

the several pronouncements and actual conduct of the Japanese Government that the aims which Japan desires to accomplish through the successful prosecution of the present war are nothing but the realisation of New Order in East Asia based on justice.

"Stressing that the Greater East Asia War had now entered an important and decisive state which would decide the fate of the one million people in the recent serial battles off Taiwan and in the sea battles off the Philippines and in the fighting around Leyte are heartening not only to the Japanese but also to all Asiatic peoples. We must expect however that our enemies, who still have powerful fleets and air forces, will come out again and again to launch a desperate attack upon us with concentrated strength. Japan has the firm determination and confidence to fight out the present war until final victory is achieved by making her co-operation with her Allies still closer and by mobilising the total strength of East Asia.

"General Koiso concluded with these words: 'I hope earnestly that Mr. Bose will trust the real strength and intentions of Japan and in co-operation with our forces fight out, however difficult the conditions may be, the battle for the accomplishment of Indian independence. At the same time, I desire to express my sincere and good wishes for the future growth of the Provisional Government. Now may I ask you to raise your glasses for the good health of His Excellency Subhas Chandra Bose?' "

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY*, November 5, 1944.

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"*The Nippon Times* praises Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's ability and describes his tact as being almost superhuman. Today, all Japanese look up to this hero of the Indian struggle who has co-operated with Japan in a common cause rendered sacred by the blood of countless soldiers, Japanese and Indian. Sjt. Bose is today assured that Japan will continue to help nationalist India in her crusade against Anglo-American Imperialism, till she is able to establish herself as an independent power equal in sovereignty to Japan, and other East Asiatic powers."

—*BERLIN RADIO* (in Bengali), November 7, 1944.

"The Foreign Minister and concurrently Minister for Greater East Asiatic Affairs, Mamura Shigemitsu, at a welcome banquet tonight in honour of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Free India and his suite held at the Foreign Minister's Official residence, expressed his firm conviction that the Indian National Army under the leadership of Mr. Bose would achieve ultimate victory. Mr. Shigemitsu gave the assurance that Japan, as she had often announced in the past, would render every possible assistance for the attainment of Indian independence. Attending the banquet besides Mr. Bose and his suite, which included Colonel A. C. Chatterjee (State Minister,) Colonel M. Z. Kiani (Commander of the 1st Division of the Indian National Army, Lt.-Colonel Habibur Rahman (Vice-Chief of Staff), were officials of the Foreign and Greater East Asiatic Ministers as well as Koki Hirota (former Premier), Viscount Keizo Shibuzawa (Governor of the Bank of Japan), Nobutsune Okuma (President of the Japan-India Society) and others.

"Warmly welcoming Mr. Bose at the outset of his speech, Mr. Shigemitsu recalled that it was just over one year ago that the Netaji attended the historic Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations as an observer and made a moving speech setting forth his fervent desire to attain Indian independence and his unflinching determination to crush the inordinate ambition of the Anglo-Americans. Praising Mr. Bose's determined efforts for the attainment of Indian independence, Mr. Shigemitsu pointed out that Mr. Bose, disliking the idea of serving as a watch-dog of British Imperialism, discarded an enviable post in the Indian Civil Service, which promised luxury and affluence and joined the hazardous independence movement.

"Continuing he said, 'Mr. Bose, knowing that the good old British policy of divide and rule' is backed up by armed oppression, has long been determined to use violence against violence. This is why he escaped from India and hoisted the flag of justice taking advantage of the present World War. The recent appearance of the Indian National Army on the Indo-Burmese frontier is an event of world-wide significance and had struck terror into the hearts of the British people. I am convinced that the inspired Indian National Army will, with divine help and under the vigorous leadership of Mr. Bose, achieve ultimate victory. I assure Your Excellency that Japan, as has often been announced, will tender every possible assistance for the attainment of Indian independence.' "

—*DOMEI NEWS AGENCY*, November 11, 1944.

"On 25th August, in an article on the death of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the *Mainichi Shimbun* says that Mr. Bose, who devoted himself to the cause of the liberation of his fatherland has died. The paper says, As India had an important position in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan had resolved to give all necessary assistance. However since Japan herself has been defeated in the war, bygones must be bygones. We should pay tribute to Bose when we remember that he sacrificed everything for his fatherland and encountered all sorts of difficulties.' "

—*TOKYO RADIO*, August 25, 1945.

END OF A DREAM

On April 24, 1945, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose left Rangoon for Bangkok. On the eve of his departure he issued the following message :—

"To my Indian and Burmese friends in Burma !

"Brothers and Sisters ! I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for Independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

"You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your Motherland in a way that has evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally your men, money and material. You set the finest example of total mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

"The spirit of selfless sacrifice which you have shown, particularly since I shifted my Headquarters to Burma, is something that I shall never forget so long as I live.

"I have the fullest confidence that that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's Freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit, I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India's Independence.

"When the History of India's Last War of Independence comes to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that History.

"I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and shared with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my Ministers and high-ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India's liberation. Being a born optimist, my unshakable faith in India's early emancipation remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

"I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour ; therefore, the dawn is not far off.

"INDIA SHALL BE FREE.

"I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner."

"INQUILAB ZINDABAD ! AZAD HIND ZINDABAD! JAI HIND !"

(Sd.) SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
AZAD HIND FAUJ.

SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY

Brave Officers and Men of the Azad Hind Fauj !

"It is with a heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944, and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma, we have lost the first round in our Fight for Independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oilfield area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

"Comrades ! At this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down as heroes ; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generation of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forbears, fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

"My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unimpaired. I am leaving in your safe hands your National Tricolour, our National honour, and the best traditions of Indian warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's Army of Liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's National honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

"If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and shared with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my Minister and high-ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fight under all circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st of October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of 38 crores

of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe, like myself, that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free and before long.

"May God bless you.

"INQUILAB ZINDABAD ! AZAD HIND ZINDABAD !

JAI HIND!"

(Sd.) SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Supreme Commander,

AZAD HIND FAUJ.

Dated : 24th April, 1945.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATIONS OF GENERAL TOJO

In the course of a speech made in the House of Peers on February 16, 1942, Premier Tojo declared:—

"Now is an excellent opportunity for India, which has a history and civilisation of several thousand years, to break off from Britain's callous domination and to join in the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Japanese Empire wishes India to be an Indians' India, and she is anxious to see that she is restored to past greatness. In this, Japan will offer her all help and assistance. If India abandons her tradition and history and forgets her missions under the spell of Britain's power and propaganda, and continues to follow her, then I shall feel very sorry for the Indian people for wasting this God-sent opportunity."

On the 12th March, 1942, General Hideki Tojo declared in the course of a speech in the Diet:---

"I firmly believe that the 'India for Indians' which the four hundred million people of India have been hoping for so many years is going to come true very soon. Britain has been deceiving the Indians and suppressing their national impulses time and again. In the last war, Britain promised independence to India. What has happened since then? I believe the Indian people still remember it. Now Britain is once more deceiving the Indian people with her sweet words. If the Indian leaders, misled by Britain's honeyed words, lose this Providential chance, I am certain that India will never be able to achieve freedom. There can be no greater disaster for the four hundred million Indian people than to be fooled by British promises. Which is more glorious: to stand up now and fight for a free India and to establish the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere; or to be for ever under the yoke of Britain and America and go down to future generations as slaves? Now India is confronted with the necessity of forgetting the past, and looking straight into this grave emergency and making her final decision."

Making a statement in the Japanese Diet on India on the 6th April, 1942, General Hideki Tojo, the Prime Minister, said:--

"The Japanese forces have recently occupied Rangoon in Burma, and also the Andaman Island, which is a strategic island in the eastern Indian Ocean. Now it is going on to attack the British forces and military installations in India. The Japanese Empire is determined to strafe and destroy Britain and America. If India is still under the military

domination of Britain at that time, the Japanese forces will be compelled to carry the war to India as they are determined to pursue Britain and America to their doom. The Japanese Empire has no wish to do anything to harm the 400 million people of India, and they would like to spare the Indian people from the ravages of war. We Japanese have the greatest sympathy for the Indian people. I have already expressed the sincerity of Japan towards the Indian people in my last speech on the 12th March in the Diet. Today is an excellent opportunity for the Indian people to do their utmost to establish an Indians' India, and the setting up of an India which will be worthy of her glorious past. At a time when British power in India is being steadily smashed, I am hoping that Indian leaders and the four hundred million people of India will not be deceived any more by the sweet words of Britain, which is well on the way towards a complete downfall. In order to avoid being involved in the war you should break off your ties with Britain and march forward for the realisation of your long-cherished goal of establishing a free India."

"The following statement was made by General Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister of Japan, in the course of his speech at the 82nd session of the Diet: 'India is still going through a terrible ordeal in the process of attaining complete independence under ruthless British oppression. For this plight of India I feel at once sympathy and indignation. Japan is firmly resolved to exert all means in order to expell and eliminate from India Anglo-Saxon influence, which is the enemy of the Indian people, and to enable India to attain independence in the true sense of the term. I confidently look to the day, which I trust will come soon, when the ardent and widespread desire of the Indian people will be fulfilled, and they will regain freedom and prosperity'."

—*TOKYO RADIO* (in Japanese), June 16, 1943.

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"In the course of a message to the Indian mass rally which was held under the auspices of the Indian Independence League in Shonan on July 5, General Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister of Japan, declared: 'A new era will dawn in East Asia when age-long British Imperial rule is ultimately wiped out from India, and the long-cherished dream of independence has been achieved by Indians. With the outbreak of the Greater East Asia war, all Indian leaders rose against their alien masters, and have spiritually completed

preparations for independence. Britain, however, in its last efforts to maintain its domination over India, has taken to armed oppression more fierce and cruel than ever before; while the United States of America is reaching out its sinister hand of domination towards India. At such a time as the present it is not easy for India to win its long-cherished independence. It is, therefore, necessary that the 400 million Indians should unite as one and exert themselves to the utmost capacity, and if necessary even to shed their blood in the coming struggle for freedom. Japan has not infrequently expressed her desire to help in the establishment of an India for the Indians as soon as possible after the liquidation of British power from India. In other words, Japan is firmly determined to do everything in its power to help Indians achieve their long-cherished goal of Independence. It is Japan's sincere desire that Indians, whether they are inside India or outside, will closely co-operate with one another for the successful attainment of their goal of independence, while at the same time driving Anglo-American influence out of every corner of India. I am firmly convinced that the only way for the Indians to achieve their independence is to co-operate with the Tripartite Powers in their fight against the common enemy by taking full advantage of the God-given opportunity.'

"The following reply was sent in reply to General Tojo's message: 'This Conference conveys its heartfelt thanks to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan for his friendly and inspiring message. We assure His Excellency and the Japanese nation of our unshakable determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with Japan and the other Axis Powers till the Anglo-American Powers are completely overthrown'."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, July 5, 1943

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"Referring to India, General Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, stated that Japan had full sympathy for her efforts to free herself from the British yoke. He declared that the grave situation in India had made it incumbent on Japan to recognise the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and to promise full support to it. He appealed to the other Powers to collaborate with Japan in the sacred task of helping India achieve freedom."

—*AZAD HIND RADIO* (Germany), October 30, 1943.

"The Prime Minister, General Hideki Tojo, made the following statement before the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations on November 6, 1943:—

"Not only India but all Greater East Asia was, without doubt, highly invigorated by the speech just made by His Excellency the Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in which His Excellency made it clear that the Indian people, under the Provisional Government, with the future destiny of India and of Asia at heart, have risen resolutely to realise their long-cherished aspiration to regain India's freedom, independence and prosperity. As has been reiterated in the various statements already issued, the Empire of Japan means to give India every possible aid so that she may free herself from the American and British yoke and attain her long-cherished ambition. Now that the foundation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has been solidified still further and the Indian patriots under the same Government, bound in close unity as never before, are firmly determined to accomplish their steadfast aim, I take this occasion to declare that the Imperial Government of Japan is ready shortly to place the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Indian territory now under the occupation of the Imperial Japanese Forces, under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, as the initial evidence of her readiness to help in India's struggle for independence. The lofty ideal that guided Japan's national founding of enabling all peoples to have each its proper status and to enjoy well-being has been and is being steadily carried out. The Japanese Empire today has been strengthened further in its determination to extend all-out co-operation to India in her fight for freedom. Japan is anxious that the Indians on their part shall extend redoubled efforts in that direction. From the spirited utterances by Their Excellencies the Representatives of various countries of Asia at yesterday's and today's sessions of this Assembly, I note with assurance and satisfaction that these countries, in concert with Japan, are extending every support to the cause of India's independence. I trust and hope that they will give even greater support to that cause in the future."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, November 7, 1943.

APPENDIX II

JAPAN AND INDIA

On the afternoon of April 1, 1942, Major General Masao Yoshizumi, the second Minister of the Information Bureau, also broadcast in Japanese on the subject, "The Indian people should watch calmly the downfall of the British Empire," which was translated afterwards into Hindustani and Malay. The extract of the message was as follows:

"Britain is attempting to sacrifice the Indian people for the protection of her own interests. Indian people should not be moved by her cunning and deceitful propaganda, but should look at things calmly from the real point of view of the Indian people. During this war in Great Eastern Asia Japan has been endeavouring to establish Asia, and she will give her full support to Indians' claim of governing themselves. In order to defend herself, Britain has made India co-operate with Chiang Kai-shek in the attempt of resisting Japan. This is the exposure of Britain's usual treachery; the evil nature of sacrificing others for her own protection; this is also Britain's intrigue of playing with Chungking, and India simultaneously by getting hold of each other. If Indians themselves insist on reaching the goal of independence the British cannot do much in preventing them. But the Indians must realise that under the circumstances, Britain might play her last card in suppressing the Indian leaders by force, to carry out her own idea. The nationalists of India must therefore have courage and resolution to fight this intimidation and tyranny."

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"Speaking at the Indian rally in Shonan, Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the Supreme Adviser of the Indian Independence League, said: 'We, the lucky few who are outside India, are now more than ever determined to save our fellow countrymen from the tyranny of British rule. One encouraging factor, which we did not have before this, is none other than the support of our powerful ally, Japan. Japan has promised to extend towards us all possible assistance in our noble endeavour. I myself heard Prime Minister Gen. Hideki Tojo express Japan's intention to give all-out aid to India. This is why I am so confident of our ultimate victory this time. The stars are now in our favour, and against the enemy. In the past India fought Britain alone, but fortune has smiled on us this time. Japan and the other Axis Powers are now our allies. We must fight as we have never fought before. Our struggles are not only for India's independence, but for bringing justice and decency into this world, which for a long time has been tinted with the corruption of the Anglo-American Powers.' "

—*TOKYO RADIO*, July 4, 1943.

"In his welcome address to General Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister of Japan, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose said, 'Your august presence has given us all fresh courage and strengthened our resolve to liberate our motherland. These soldiers (of the Indian National Army), though fully aware of the dangers and hardships that lie in wait for them, are convinced that Japan and her allies will be successful in their struggle against the Anglo-Americans. I can assure you on behalf of our troops of whom I am the Commander-in-Chief, that we are determined to co-operate with Japan in her fight against British Imperialism.' "

SINGAPORE RADIO, July 9, 1943.

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" 'India's campaign for independence is also Japan's campaign. It is not only a campaign to the last for the Indians, but also for the Japanese.' This is what a spokesman of the Japanese Government declared on the occasion of the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest by the British. The spokesman went on to say, 'All people in Asia are ready to support the Indian people in their struggle for freedom, because the liberation of India embodies the hope for the creation of a real Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which will be worked by all Asiatics in a spirit of harmonious co-operation and mutual assistance.' "

—*BERLIN RADIO*, August 9, 1943.

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"Some Indian people might entertain the apprehension that should India be completely freed from the British, the country might be placed under the control of Japan or Germany. Such an idea, if they have, it is utterly ridiculous, said Mr. Shiratori, former Japanese Ambassador to Rome and at present Diplomatic adviser to the Japanese Foreign Office, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Executive Board for India's Freedom, on August 10, 1943.

"Mr. Shiratori then explained at length that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China as is evidenced by the present deals with that country, and that the same applied to India as well."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, August 12, 1943.

"Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, the Supreme Adviser of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, speaking to the Indian people over Tokyo Radio on October 2, asked his countrymen to dispel all doubts and misgivings from their minds regarding Japan's motives. He said that Japan was determined to expel the Anglo-Americans from East Asia, and she would, therefore, give all necessary help to the Indians in expelling the British from India; and after the British had been expelled from India, India would belong to the Indians. Mr. Rash Bihari Bose concluded by saying that Indians should believe in the sincerity of Japanese pledges, because the Japanese genuinely sympathised with Indian aspirations, and Indians should take a united step in overthrowing the Anglo-Americans from India and East Asia."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, October 3, 1943.

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"Netaji S. C. Bose has received a telegram from the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mamura Shigemitsu, in the course of which Mr. Shigemitsu states, 'The formation of the Provisional Government of India, its declaration of war against Britain and America, and the firm resolve of the Indian people to fight for their liberation have a great significance at this critical juncture, when the World War has entered its most decisive phase. It is my earnest wish that the might of the Indian National Army may grow under your command. I feel certain that the day is not far off when India will attain her freedom'."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, October 30, 1943.

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"The Japanese Ambassador to Burma, Mr. Sawada, said in the course of a statement that Japan's aid to the Indian Independence movement is based on a moral policy which has no territorial or economic ambitions. He said that without Indian freedom there can be no Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in the true sense of the word."

—*TOKYO RADIO*, October 24, 1943.

"Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has sent the following message to His Excellency Mamoru Shigemitsu, Foreign Minister of Nippon : On the occasion of Your Excellency's assuming once again the office of Foreign Minister and concurrently the Minister of Greater East Asiatic Affairs, I desire to offer my heartiest felicitations. Having had the highest admiration of Your Excellency's statesmanship and diplomacy, it gives me a unique pleasure to see Your Excellency back in office. I take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency once again that in spite of the hard times that lie ahead of us we shall go on fighting shoulder to shoulder with Nippon under all circumstances until our common Victory is achieved."

"In reply, Mr. Shigemitsu sent the following message, 'I wish to express my sincere thanks to Your Excellency for your kind message of felicitations. I welcome your assurance of whole-hearted co-operation at this momentous juncture. I am firmly convinced that we shall win our common cause and that under Your Excellency's wise and able leadership, the struggle for liberating India will ultimately be crowned with success. All my best wishes ?' "

—*RANGOON RADIO*, July 25, 1944.

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"On receipt of information regarding the formation of a new Cabinet with General Koiso as Premier, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, cabled his congratulations and felicitations to General Koiso and other Ministers of his Cabinet, and assured them of the determination of Indians in East Asia to continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with Nippon until victory is achieved."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, July 27, 1944

APPENDIX III

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

"The Headquarters of the Indian Independence League at 3 o'clock on Thursday, July 8, 1943, afternoon issued the following communique regarding the organisation of the Indian National Army: 'To fight for complete freedom from British rule in India, the Indian Independence League has organised a National Army to be known as the *Azad Hind Fauj* or the 'Indian National Army'. The aim of the newly organised army is to drive out the British from India and make 'India for the Indians.' "

—*TOKYO RADIO*, July 8, 1943.

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"Japan has recognised the Indian National Army as an independent and allied force. The Indian National Army has been equipped with the most modern arms and is the first Indian armed force which is purely Indian. The rank and file as well as the officers are all Indians, and the army has got its own uniform and flag."

—*BERLIN RADIO*, July 9, 1943.

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Proclamation of the Provisional Goveenment of Azad Hind.

On October 21, 1943, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was inaugurated at a mass meeting of Indians and other distinguished visitors. After Netaji and the other Ministers had taken the oath of allegiance and office the following Proclamation was issued :—

"After their first defeat at the hands of the British units in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohan Lal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh

Atariwala of Punjab and last, but not the least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib, among others, are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when, the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation they made a concerted move—and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought a bout their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

"Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857, and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while but with the birth of Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885, till the end f the last world war, the Indian people in their endeavour to r ecover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods, namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally armed revolutions. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with a new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

"For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

"Thus, on the eve of the present world war, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this war, Germany, with the help of her allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe, while Nippon, with the help of her allies, has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a

most happy combinations of circumstances, the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

"For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to freedom. In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of 'Total Mobilisation' and in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan 'Onward to Delhi', on their lips.

"Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

"Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of the Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

"Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause

of her freedom, of her welfare and her exultation among the nations of the world.

"It will be the task of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of Permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

" The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

" In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strive for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final Victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

" Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Subhas Chandra Bose (Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs); Capt. Mrs. S. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation), S. A. Iyer (Publicity and Propaganda); Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjee (Finance); Lt. Col Aziz Ahmed, Lt. Col. N. S. Bhagat, Lt. Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Lt. Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt. Col. M. Z. Kiani, Lt. Col. A. D. Loganadan, Lt. Col. Ehsan Qadir. Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the Armed Forces); A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with Ministerial rank); Rash Bihari Bose (Supreme Adviser), Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers), A. N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser). Shonan, October 21, 1943."

" The Japanese Board of Information has announced that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose established the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21. Accordingly, the Imperial

Japanese Government has recognised the new Government to-day, October 23, and it was so notified by the latter immediately. The following statement by the Imperial Japanese Government has been issued : "The Provisional Government of Azad Hind has been established under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. The Imperial Japanese Government, confident that this marks an epoch-making step towards the long-cherished aspiration of the people of India for the consumption of an independent India, has recognized the Government as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and hereby declares that every possible assistance and support will be afforded to the latter's efforts for the achievement of its aim.'"

—*TOKYO RADIO*, October 23, 1943.

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"The Provisional Government of Free India has declared war on Britain and the United States. The decision was made on Saturday at a meeting of the Council of Ministers. The declaration was made by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose this afternoon at four o'clock, at a mass meeting of Indians."

—*BATAVIA RADIO*, October 24, 1943.

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"According to Berlin Radio, Germany has recognised the Provisional Government of Free India. The German Government has pledged full support to the new Indian Government."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, October 30, 1943.

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"The Government of Free Philippines has recognised the Provisional Government of India, which has established its headquarters in Shonan. Yesterday Dr. Laurel, the President of the Philippines, sent a message to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Provisional Government, congratulating

him on the organisation of the National Government, Dr. Laurel says that the Filipinos express their satisfaction and pray for the salvation of India and the final victory of the Provisional Government in its war against British Imperialism."

—*FREE INDIA RADIO* (Saigon), October 30, 1943.

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"The Japanese Board of Information announced on 20th November, 1944: "Conversations have been going on between Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, now staying in Tokyo, and the representatives of the Imperial Japanese Government concerning measures for increased co-operation between the two Governments in regard to the successful consummation of the Great East Asia War and of the independence of India. As a result of these conversations, it was decided that the Japanese Government would send diplomatic representatives to the Provisional Government."

" A meeting of the Ministers of the Provisional Government of Free India was held on June 16, 1945, under the chairmanship of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, when matters relating to India were discussed. The statements made by Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery were discussed at great length. The reactions of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian Press to the new British proposals were also considered.

" The Ministers arrived at the following conclusions :—

" (i) Lord Wavell's offer closely resembles the Cripps Offer of 1942, which had been rejected ;

" (ii) The present offer merely aims at facilitating the exploitation of Indian wealth and resources in the war against Japan ;

" (iii) By making this offer the British hope to kill Russian sympathy for India which was witnessed at the San Francisco Conference ;

" (iv) The acceptance of the offer would be suicidal for the Congress, and would amount to a reversal of the policy which the Congress had been following since 1939 ;

" (v) By accepting the offer the Congress will lose the confidence of the people of India ;

" (vi) The offer is full of loop-holes, having been made

to quell world-wide clamour for Indian independence ;

" (vii) The offer has been made because the British know that the question of India's freedom would be raised before the new World Organisation ;

" (viii) If a settlement is reached between Britain and India at this critical juncture, India will become a domestic problem of Britain and thus she will lose the sympathy of so many nations of the world ;

" *(ix) Indians cannot win independence unless they reject* the present offer and continue to fight for complete liberation from the clutches of Britain ;

" (x) Besides Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee, millions of Indians will reject the offer ;

" (xi) Indian independence cannot be won by any alliance with British Imperialism.

" The Council of Ministers stressed the need for an armed fight against the British in order to wrest India's freedom from them. The Ministers declared that the battle for Indian independence which began in August, 1942, will continue until India was completely free. The Council also authorised Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to comment upon the Wavell offer on its behalf."

—*SINGAPORE RADIO*, June 17, 1945.

APPENDIX IV

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND OTHER ASIATIC NATIONS

"His Excellency Thankin Nu, Burmese Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent the following message of felicitations to H.E. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, on the 7th July, 1944, on the occasion of the celebration of Netaji Week: 'Events of momentous significance have so crowded upon one another ever since Your Excellency ably assumed leadership of the Indian Independence League on July 4, 1943, that it is hardly credible that a year has gone by. The transfer, not long afterwards of your Provisional Government from Shonan to Burma, the front-line country of the present War of Greater East Asia, was a happy augury, not only for India and Burma, but also for the whole of East Asia; and Your Excellency has never been known to have paused for rest. This unabating energy has been a source of inspiration to all the rank and file of the Indian National Army as well as the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, whose fighting strength and spirit are growing from day to day. The spectacular success of the past year of Your Excellency's countrymen is attributable to Your Excellency's indomitable will to achieve freedom at all cost and implicit faith in East Asia's ultimate Victory.'

"In reply Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose sent the following message: 'Your Excellency! Allow me to express on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian National Army, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and myself, my most sincere thanks to Your Excellency for your kind message of felicitations of July 7. I am thankful to the Government and the people of Independent Burma for their good wishes in our fight for independence. I wish also to assure Your Excellency that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the three million Indians in East Asia deeply appreciate the whole-hearted sympathy and co-operation of the Government and people of Burma, particularly since the Provisional Government shifted its Headquarters from Shonan to Burma. It is this aid of the Government and people of Burma that has rendered it possible for the Indian National Army to reach the Indo-Burma frontier and carry on its successful operations against the Anglo-Americans in India. It is most gratifying to me to know that at this moment troops of the Indian National Army are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their comrades of the Burmese Army against the common enemies, the Anglo-Americans, and for a common cause, namely, the freedom of Asia, the freedom of Burma, and the freedom of India Assuring Your Excellency of my highest consideration'."

—*RANGOON RADIO*, July 8, 1944.

"The following telegrams were recently exchanged between His Excellency Netaji Subhas Bose, Head of the State, Provisional Government of Azad Hind and His Excellency Kovit Abhaiwongse, Prime Minister of Thailand.

"Netaji's telegram: 'On behalf of all freedom-loving Indians, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian National Army, the Indian Independence League and myself I wish to offer my hearty congratulations on the occasion of Your Excellency assuming the office of Prime Minister. I wish to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that we Indians will continue whole-heartedly to co-operate with the Government and the people of Thailand in our common fight against the common enemy. I hope and trust that during Your Excellency's tenure of office, the cultural and political ties that have already been formed between Thailand and Free India will be further strengthened. Heartily wishing Your Excellency all success as the leader of the Thai Nation, and assuring Your Excellency of my highest consideration—Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Provisional Government of Azad Hind.'

"His Excellency Major Abhaiwongse's reply: 'I thank you sincerely for your congratulatory telegram. The Government and people of Thailand fully sympathise with the high aspirations of the freedom-loving Indians and will continue to give whole-hearted support to the Indian Independence Movement. I desire to assure Your Excellency that I shall use my constant effort further to enhance the cultural and political ties between Thailand and Free India. In the name of the Thai people, I wish every success for the Indian National Army and for Your Excellency's noble undertaking. May the Independence of India soon be achieved. I avail myself of this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of my highest consideration'."

RANGOON RADIO, July 15, 1944.

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"His Excellency Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, sent the following message of felicitations to His Excellency Adpadi Dr. Ba Maw, Head of State, Independent Burma, on the occasion of the anniversary of Burmese Independence: 'On behalf of freedom-loving Indians, the Provisional Government of Free India, the Indian National Army and myself, I wish

to offer my warmest congratulations to Your Excellency, to the Government and the people of Independent Burma on the occasion of the anniversary of Burma's Independence. I wish to take this opportunity to express the heartiest thanks of the Provisional Government of Free India, the Indian National Army and of myself to Your Excellency, to the Government and to the people of Independent Burma for all the valuable help that has been and is being rendered to us in our fight for the Independence of India. I wish also to assure Your Excellency that we, Indians, are irrevocably resolved to fight shoulder to shoulder with Independent Burma and Nippon, under all circumstances until our common enemies are crushed and our common Victory is achieved.'"

-*RANGOON RADIO*, July 27, 1944.

APPENDIX V

Short History of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia

Japan and other countries of the Far East have given asylum to Indian political offenders driven away from their country by the British Police. Among the more notable exiles from India were Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, who escaped to Japan in 1912 soon after throwing a bomb on Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, during the Delhi Durbar; and Mahendra Pratap. These individuals had been carrying on an intensive anti-British propaganda for years before the outbreak of World Wars I and II. But, it was only when Japan went into war against Britain and America on December 7, 1941, that the powder-magazine was lighted. Consequently, these organisations formed the nucleus of the Indian Independence movement which, at one stage, threatened British domination of India as it has never been threatened before.

Pre-war Situation

In 1936 the Indian Congress Party of Bangkok was founded, and later volunteers were enrolled to do propaganda work in Malaya. In 1937 a conference was held in Tokyo, which was attended by a large number of representatives of Indian organisations in the Far East, including Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, Hari Singh, Giani Pritam Singh and Swami Satyanand Puri. This conference planned anti-British propaganda in Siam, Malaya, Burma and India; and gave special attention to Indian troops of the British Army in the Far East. A general plan was made for the organisation of a force which would operate along with the Japanese in the event of war. Just before the outbreak of the war in the Far East Giani Pritam Singh opened an office in Siam (a few miles from the Malay frontier) and from here the party moved forward with the advancing Japanese forces.

Where Indian organisations already existed these were taken over, officials being changed, and new branches were opened as appeared desirable. These local associations were a combination of social welfare societies and influential mediators between the Indian residents and the Japanese authorities. Gradually these organisations became all-powerful as far as Indian affairs were concerned and became a sort of 'go-between' for complaints and petitions to the Japanese authorities. From the earliest reports, the name of Captain Mohan Singh was prominent. He, along with another officer of the Indian Army, Captain Mohammad Akram (who

was killed in a plane crash on his way to Tokyo), quickly rose to prominence, and on June 24, 1942, Berlin Radio announced that "Captain Mohan Singh of East Asia fame is to be a member of the Council of Action of the Azad Hind National Army."

Tokyo and Bangkok Conferences

As the war in East developed it became necessary to weld the various Indian nationalist organisations in Asia into one unified organisation of Indian patriots, and consequently a conference of delegates from all the organisations in Asia was held in Tokyo in March, 1942. This conference did not prove as successful as it was hoped, and it was thought necessary to hold another conference. Accordingly a conference was convened at Bangkok and this conference met from the 15th to the 25th June, 1942. The Bangkok Conference was held under the presidentship of Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, the doyen of Indian nationalists in the Far East, and messages from General Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, and Mr. Togo, the Foreign Minister, were received by the conference. Mr. Rash Behari Bose addressed the conference at great length—the main themes of his speech being the vital necessity of Indian nationalists in the Far East welding themselves together under one organisation and fighting to liberate India from British bondage, the urgency of taking every step to exploit the war situation to the best advantage, and the sincerity of Japan. The Japanese Ambassador, and the German and Italian Ministers also addressed the conference and assured the Indian nationalists that the Axis Powers wanted India to be free and were willing to help in every possible way to help India attain independence. Other speakers included Mr. D. M. Das, Mr. A. M. Sahay, Mr. N. Raghavan, Captain Mohan Singh and Lt. Col. N. G. Gill; and Lt. Col. G. Q. Gilani moved a vote of thanks.

The conference resolved to sponsor a movement for achieving complete independence for India through the Indian Independence League. It was also resolved that, in furtherance of the League's objective, to raise an Indian National Army immediately from among Indian soldiers—combatants and non-combatants, and such civilians as might be recruited. By another resolution the 'Council of Action' undertook to create an atmosphere in India which would lead to a revolution in the Indian Army and the Indian people—the creation of such an atmosphere was to be the prelude to an invasion of India. By another resolution it was decided to launch a propaganda campaign inside and outside India by means of the radio, dropping of leaflets, lectures and any other means. The

conference also laid down certain general principles amongst which the following were the most important :—

(a) That India should be considered as one indivisible whole.

(b) That all activities of the Indian Independence League were to be on a national basis; not sectional, communal or religious.

(c) That the policy and programme of the Indian Independence League must be in line with the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress.

(d) That India's future constitution was to be framed by the people of India.

(e) That a joint Axis policy favourable to India was accepted as advantageous; and that Japan's support was invaluable.

The Indian Independence League

The constitution of the Indian Independence League was laid down as follows:—

(a) Council of Action.

(b) Committee of Representatives.

(c) Territorial Committees.

(d) Local Branches.

The Council of Action elected consisted of: Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, President; Messrs. H. Raghavan and K. P. K. Menon, Civil, and Captain Mohan Singh and Lieut. Col. G. Q. Gilani, Military. Its programme, as laid down at the conference, was to carry out the policy and programme of the League, and to deal with any new matters which might arise; and also general superintendence and control over the entire National Army organisation. It also had powers to create departments as necessary and powers to appoint and dismiss administrative officers.

The Committee of Representatives was elected by Territorial Committees and included representatives selected by the Indian National Army. They came from the following areas: Japan and Manchuria, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, Burma, Borneo and Celebes, Hong Kong, Canton and Macao, other parts of China, including Shanghai, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra and the Andamans.

It is not known what the strength of the Indian National Army and the Indian Independence League was. Some sources estimate that the Indian National Army consisted of between 60,000 and 90,000 men, but even this sort of estimate of the Indian Independence League was never made. It was,

however, stated at the end of 1943 that the Indian National Army consisted of as many as 200,000 fully armed and trained men who were held ready to cross the Indian frontier. In any case, one thing is certain that the Indian Independence League was a powerful organisation and had the support of the majority of Indian residents in the Far East. It is also true that the Indian National Army succeeded in enlisting a large number of men, most of whom formerly belonged to the British Indian Army; though, of course, there were a number of men who were made to join under duress.

Enter Netaji Subhas Bose

On July 2, 1943, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who had arrived in the Far East from Berlin, arrived in Singapore. Two days later, at a meeting of the Territorial Representatives of the Indian Independence League, Netaji Bose was elected to succeed Mr. Rash Bihari Bose as President of the Indian Independence League. The following day, July 4, the formation of the Azad Hind Fauj was announced from Singapore, and Netaji Bose declared that the aim of the Azad Hind Fauj was to fight for the freedom of India, and its slogan would be, 'Onwards to Delhi.'

Provisional Government Formed

Netaji Bose, who had declared his intention of forming a Provisional Government of Free India, set about this immediately after assuming leadership of the Indian Independence League; and on October 21, 1943, it was announced that the Government had been formed with headquarters in Singapore. The Ministers of the Government were:

Netaji Bose, Head of State, Prime Minister, and concurrently Minister of War and Foreign Affairs.

Mr. S. A. Iyer (a former Bangkok Journalist)—Publicity.

Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterji (formerly of the I. M. S.)—Finance.

Dr. S. Lakshmi—Women's Organization.

Mr. A. M. Sahay (of Kobe, Japan)—Secretary with Ministerial rank.

Mr. Rash Bihari Bose—Supreme Adviser.

Mr. A. N. Sarkar—Legal Adviser.

In addition to these Ministers, other civilians were appointed as Advisers, and eight military officers (each holding the rank of Lt. Col.) representing the armed forces.

The next land-mark in the history of the Indian Independence movement in East Asia was the declaration of War by the Provisional Government against Britain and America on

October 25, 1943. The declaration, which was made at a mass meeting of Indians in Singapore by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was widely supported by Indian residents throughout the Far East.

The Provisional Government had its own Bank—the Azad Hind Bank—and issued its own currency. It was Government in every sense of the word, because it was recognised as such by Germany, Japan, Italy, Manchukuo, Indo-China, Siam, the Philippines, Burma and Croatia. When, on November 8, 1943, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were handed over to the Provisional Government the last attribute of legalised Government was fulfilled.

On April 24, 1945, the Headquarters of the Azad Hind Government was shifted from Rangoon to Bangkok, and with the collapse of Japan it ceased to exist.



APPENDIX VI

CHRONOLOGY

December 7, 1941	.. Japan attacks Pearl Harbour.
February 15, 1942	.. Singapore surrenders to the Japanese
June 24, 1942	.. Indian Independence League inaugurated.
April 18, 1943	.. The Indian Independence League placed on a war footing.
July 4, 1943	.. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose elected President of the Indian Independence League.
July 5, 1943	.. The formation of the Azad Hind Fauj announced.
August 25, 1943	.. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose assumes Supreme Command of the Azad Hind Fauj.
October 21, 1943	.. The Provisional Government of Free India formed.
October 25, 1943	.. The Provisional Government of Free India declared war on Britain and the United States.
November 8, 1943	.. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands handed over to the Provisional Government.
December 30, 1943	. The Tricolour hoisted over Port Blaire.
January 8, 1944	. Advance Headquarters of the Azad Hind Fauj transferred to Rangoon Col. Loganadan assumes charge as Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (renamed Shaheed Isles).
March 18, 1944	. The Azad Hind Fauj crosses into India,
March 22, 1944	.. General A. C. Chatterji assumes office as the first Governor of the liberated areas in India.
July 4, 1944	.. Netaji Week commences.
August 21, 1944	.. Military operations by the Azad Hind Fauj suspended due to the monsoon.
December 1944 to January 1945	.. Second campaign of the Azad Hind Fauj.
April 24, 1945	.. Azad Hind Government leaves Rangoon for Bangkok.
May 3, 1945	.. Azad Hind Fauj surrenders Rangoon to the British.
August 21, 1945	.. Japan agrees to accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.